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# PUBLIC REBIRTH

PENTECOSTAL-CHARISMATIC CHRISTIANITY,  
SEXUALITY & NATION BUILDING IN THE  
UGANDAN PUBLIC SPHERE

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## DECLARATION

I confirm that this dissertation 'PUBLIC REBIRTH: Pentecostal-Charismatic Christianity, Sexuality & Nation Building in the Ugandan Public Sphere', is my own work, and that the use of all material from outside sources has been properly and fully acknowledged.



Caroline De Bruhl Valois  
7<sup>th</sup> June 2014

## ABSTRACT

Throughout the past five years a flood of international attention has been paid to Uganda. This focus has to do with the proposal, passage, and annulment of the Anti-Homosexuality Bill (AHB). In its original form, the AHB prescribed the death penalty for some acts of homosexuality, mandated prison sentences for the ‘promotion of homosexuality’, and required Ugandans to report ‘offenders’ to the authorities. Overwhelmingly the predominant frames found throughout the international press, attribute the Legislation to two main factors, the influence of the North American evangelical movement, and/or the ruling party—the National Resistance Movement—using local homophobia to obscure broader trends of restricting human rights and democratic freedoms. While both explanations have degrees of validity they underplay the tangible religiousity of the context, demonstrated in the discursive influence of the Ugandan Pentecostal-Charismatic (PC) movement, at the heart of the Legislation. Yet, PC influence is demonstrated far beyond the Legislation alone, and it is changing the nature of Ugandan politics, governance, and the formation of citizenship.

This thesis examines the influence of PC discourse on processes of governance and citizenship by using the PC engagement with sexuality in the public sphere to understand its political impact. I argue that PC discourse in the public sphere—which functions by reinscribing the past, present, and future—reveals tensions in the Ugandan public sphere, the negotiation of citizenship, and perpetuates the indistinct boundaries between religion, politics, and governance. Through an extended ethnographic approach conducted at four local PC churches over the course of fourteens months in Kampala—including *Miracle Centre*, *One Love*, *Watoto*, and *Covenant Nations*—analysis of church-produced discourse collected through participant observations and interviews elucidates the impact of moral narratives on political governance and citizenship.

In church-produced discourse homosexuality is positioned as inherently un-African, a practice learned from the West that undermines local tradition and morality, and is

a threat to the up-and-coming generation charged with transforming the nation. Consequently, for the PC community the Legislation functions as a display of autonomy from Western influence, and a stride towards nation building by establishing a moral citizenry reflective of PC tenets of sexual purity, by a religious community that has taken on the role of development actor. The implications of the study cannot be understated. PC discourse has profound implications for Ugandans living outside of the bounds of PC identity. The AHB reflects the newfound political influence and impact of PC discourse in the public sphere. Consequently as members of the local lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and intersex (LGBTI) community, a community seen as incompatible with this newly aligned moral national identity, is rendered not to belong to Uganda. In turn the boundaries between the political and the religious are made more and more indistinguishable, and the Ugandan LGBTI community without a distinguishable country.

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## LIST OF ACRONYMS

<b>ABC</b>	Abstinence, Monogamy (Being Faithful), and Condoms
<b>ACP</b>	AIDS Control Programme
<b>AHB</b>	Anti-Homosexuality Bill
<b>APB</b>	Anti-Pornography Bill
<b>BAFF</b>	Born Again Faith Federation
<b>CDA</b>	Critical Discourse Analysis
<b>CMS</b>	Church Missionary Society
<b>CNC</b>	Covenant Nations Church
<b>COU</b>	Church of Uganda
<b>DNA</b>	Discipline Nations Alliance
<b>DP</b>	Democratic Party
<b>FBO</b>	Faith-Based Organisation
<b>FLN</b>	Family Life Network
<b>IBEAC</b>	Imperial British East Africa Company
<b>IROCoU</b>	Inter-Religious Council of Uganda
<b>ITN</b>	International Transformation Network
<b>KPC</b>	Kampala Pentecostal Church
<b>LGBT</b>	Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender
<b>LGBTI</b>	Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, and Intersex
<b>LGBTQ</b>	Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, and Queer
<b>MCC</b>	Miracle Centre Cathedral
<b>NCP</b>	Namirembe Christian Fellowship
<b>NFBAC</b>	National Federation of Born Again Churches
<b>NGO</b>	Non-Governmental Organisation
<b>NRM</b>	National Resistance Movement
<b>PAG</b>	Pentecostal Assemblies of God
<b>PC</b>	Pentecostal-Charismatic
<b>PCC</b>	Pentecostal-Charismatic Church
<b>PEPFAR</b>	President's Emergency Action Plan for AIDS Relief
<b>PIASCY</b>	Presidential Initiative on AIDS Strategy for Communication to Youth
<b>POMB</b>	Public Order Management Bill
<b>R.I.O.T</b>	Righteous Invasion of Truth
<b>SMUG</b>	Sexual Minorities Uganda
<b>SSA</b>	Samaritan Strategy Africa
<b>TASO</b>	The AIDS Support Organisation
<b>TNA</b>	Transforming Nations Alliance
<b>UAC</b>	Uganda AIDS Commission
<b>UPC</b>	Uganda Peoples Congress
<b>UYF</b>	Uganda Youth Forum
<b>YDM</b>	Youth Distinction Ministry



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## CHAPTER I

### A REBIRTH OF THE PUBLIC

#### **Pentecostal-Charismatic Christianity, Sexuality & Nation Building in the Ugandan Public Sphere**

*“[L]et the Church in Uganda be a transformational Church, that takes the gospel of the Kingdom to all the world. Father build the Body of Church in Uganda and let the Lordship of Christ be evident for all to see...The Lord appoints our leaders; they serve the nation with the servant heart of Jesus Christ...We dedicate our nation to You Most High God.”*

*(Uganda Declaration, 2012)*

“Hello sister, are you saved?” the young man whispered as he stood perched atop a concrete stair, blocking the entrance of the main church door. The wooden doorjamb framed the outline of his shape, shadowed by the setting late afternoon sun. I walked closer and smiling he asked his question once again, but this time louder, audibly “Are you saved?” (Watoto Participant Observation, October 2011). I briefly hesitate before responding, “No, I’m not” (*ibid*). I fielded the question almost daily. In every new interaction I began to wait for those words, anticipating them, welcoming their familiarity—“Are you saved?”—followed with my inevitable response, “No”.

My cumulative fourteen-month fieldwork was in Kampala, where believers speak through scripture and Sunday sermons are a display of studiousness, as congregations diligently take notes of the words emanating from the pastor’s pulpit. The religiosity is tangible, and public space is alive with the presence of the Holy Spirit. The *Mutatu*, small passenger buses for public transport, are emblazoned with messages of salvation. Church flyers adorn telephone poles, and born-again Christians are equipped with Bibles as often as house keys. On the way to a Saturday evening sermon at *Watoto Church*, I sat on the back of a *boda boda*, or a motorcycle taxi.<sup>1</sup> Stopped at an intersection a sidewalk preacher stepped from the concrete median, long before we reached our destination, and repeated the familiar question once again, “Sister, are you saved?” (Fieldwork Observations, March 2012).

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<sup>1</sup> *Watoto Church* is one of four case studies. See Chapter V.

With the considerable growth of the Pentecostal-Charismatic (PC) movement the question finds footing throughout the world, and in the context of Uganda is profoundly relevant.<sup>2</sup> This form of Christianity is relatively new to Uganda and gained most of its social, and more recently political, relevance over the past fifteen years. At first Ugandan PC Christianity was a marginal movement, mostly divorced from politics, its influence was seen in the daily lives of its followers.

For Sarah, “when I was saved [10 years ago] I would talk to God, I would ask him, ‘what should I wear today...what should I eat, He is always with me’” (MCC Participant Observation, December 2011). Yet, the nature of Ugandan Pentecostalism has changed. Its concerns are more national and transformative. “Now” says Sarah, “I ask [God] how do I lift up the nation?” (*ibid*). Pentecostal-Charismatic Churches (PCC) are increasingly concerned with the ‘nation’ and have now become inseparable from the political sphere. The political evolution of Ugandan PCCs—from an individual to a national focus—is displayed in church-produced discourse on homosexuality. Homosexuality is a central theme in Ugandan PCCs, and undermines not only individual concerns of morality, but stands as an impediment to national progress as well.

In February 2014, the PC community won a significant victory in their quest to ‘lift up the nation’ when President Museveni signed the Anti-Homosexuality Bill (AHB) into law. In August 2014, a Ugandan constitutional court overturned the Law, but the judgement can still be appealed. Judging from the statements of PC Pastor Martin Ssempe an appeal may be imminent, “Our country now today stands unprotected. Our children are unprotected. We therefore ask parliament to investigate the independence of the judiciary” (ENCA, 4/8/2014). Perhaps most notable is the

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<sup>2</sup> Throughout the dissertation Pentecostal-Charismatic is used, however, born-again, saved and Pentecostal are used synonymously for brevity. Evangelical refers to a broader categorical classification that stresses a personal relationship with the Holy Spirit and a literal interpretation of scripture, of which Pentecostal-Charismatic is a subset. Pentecostal-Charismatic Christianity grew out of the American revivalist movements of the 1960s, and can be differentiated from mainline Pentecostalism (Robbins, 2004). PC Christians hold some of the same beliefs as evangelicals, but place more emphasis on the spiritual elements or charismatic ‘gifts of the Holy Spirit’. These gifts include miracle healings and *glossolalia* (speaking in tongues). Charismatic forms have been documented in the Anglican, Lutheran, and Roman-Catholic Churches, as well as Islam (Anderson, 2004).

reason behind its invalidation. Rather than a violation of human rights, the Law was overturned because of an absence of quorum when Parliament passed the Bill.<sup>3</sup> The on going debate around the AHB demonstrates the new political salience of Ugandan PCCs, as well of the movement's evolving nature and expanding objectives.

PCCs have played a vital role in the drafting of the AHB, as well as mobilising public support. For Ugandan PCCs homosexuality is not a human right, but a human vice that conflicts with 'traditional' values and church aims of national transformation. At its core the Uganda PC movement is about transformation. Churches seek to transform the self in order to transform the nation, to create "nation builders with kingdom-mindedness" (Watoto Participant Observation, December 2012).<sup>4</sup>

This thesis addresses the impacts of the dominance of PC discourse in the public sphere and the movement's increased political alignment for the nation and citizenry, it is about the place of religion in contemporary politics and within the Ugandan state, and helps explain a new political dispensation driving social transformation, the Pentecostal-Charismatic community. I suggest that within the Ugandan Pentecostal community the experience of salvation that individuals encounter during conversion stands as a metaphor for the process of transformation that the nation itself must experience. Yet rather than defining the individual salvation of religious converts this work imagines the rebirth to have taken place on a much broader scale as a moral discursive realignment of public space that now informs public understandings and political agendas, or the *public rebirth*. While 'rebirth' speaks to transformation, 'public' accounts for what it is that is being transformed, this 'rebirth' is not the individual experience of salvation but a redefinition of public and political discourse along PC terms. The discursive prominence of the Pentecostal community helps explain a new social and political dispensation occurring in Uganda aimed at generating a born again nation. For believers the national

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<sup>3</sup> Due to the on going status of the AHB this thesis refers to the Legislation rather than the Law.

<sup>4</sup> Kingdom-mindedness is the concept of putting your PC identity first by bringing your beliefs into every aspect of your life. It is a way of not compartmentalising your religious beliefs, but having them guide all parts of your life (Watoto Participant Observation, January 2012).

transformation mirrors the way individual members of the Church are ‘reborn’ in Pentecostalism.

While my conception of *public rebirth* is simply the discursive transformation of the public sphere that greatly reflects Pentecostal-Charismatic belief, demonstrated in changes in public health initiatives and the more public nature of sexuality, this shift is instrumental to the movement’s ultimate goal of generating a better future for the nation. Yet, delivering the nation is still contingent on the individual, as to transform the individual enables national transformation. To demonstrate this I focus on two areas where PCCs have had the most political impact, public health and sexuality. The discursive frame of public health initiatives and sexuality in the public sphere are bound to the movement’s grander objectives to redefine the nation along PC precepts that, in PC discourse, promises to transform Uganda to a veritable land of plenty.

This introductory chapter offers an overview of the global PC movement before specifically considering Ugandan Pentecostal-Charismatic Christianity. After the overview, discussion turns to PC discourse in the Ugandan public sphere and the primacy of sexuality. My research question and central argument follows. The case studies—*Miracle*, *One Love*, *Watoto* and *Covenant Nations*—are then presented along with their recurrent themes. Research methods are described, followed by an elaboration of conceptual points of departure. The chapter concludes with the analytical framework and a chapter summary to map out the work. Discussion now turns to an overview of the PC movement in Uganda to understand its growth from a marginal and apolitical movement to a politically salient force.

### ***A Brief Overview of Pentecostal-Charismatic Christianity***

As this work argues a main tension in the Ugandan PC movement is between the ‘global’ or Western world, which is seen as the source of moral depravity by Ugandan PCCs, and the local. However, the origins of PC Christianity trace back to the North American Protestant evangelical tradition, beginning with the eighteenth century revivalist movement known as the Great Awakening (Robbins, 2004:119). Early evangelicals emphasised the conversion experience, where “people [are] not born into evangelical faith but must ‘voluntarily’ choose it” (Robbins, 2004:120). The evangelical movement spread to the Methodist Church, and by 1906 Pentecostal congregations began to develop during the Azusa Street revival (*ibid*). A distinguishing characteristic of the movement was the demonstrative style of worship, where “men and women...shout, weep, dance, fall into trances, [and] speak and sing in tongues” (Synan, 1997:98).

Mainline Pentecostal churches grew throughout the 1960s, while the charismatic movement became integrated in other mainline denominations. According to Robbins, prior to this time non-Pentecostal Christians who received the gifts of the Holy Spirit left their respective churches to “join Pentecostal ones. But once...the charismatic movement began to spread...[they] retained membership in mainline churches...[or] formed charismatic subgroups within them” (Robbins, 2004:121). From the 1970s the charismatic movement began to expand throughout the globe (Synan 1997:271), of which Pentecostals comprised the largest portion.<sup>5</sup> While some refused the label of charismatic or Pentecostal—to distinguish themselves from mainline denominations—PC congregations were central in the wave of charismatic Christianity sweeping the world.<sup>6</sup>

Notwithstanding its Western provenance, nearly a century after the movement’s birth, two thirds of the world’s charismatic and PC Christians are found throughout the developing world (Robbins, 2004:117). For Casanova, PC Christianity is soon

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<sup>5</sup> Charismatic are not necessarily Pentecostal, and can be affiliated with other mainline denominations or refuse any affiliation altogether (Robbins, 2004).

<sup>6</sup> These churches were not mainline churches or ‘classical’ Pentecostal Churches. They can be distinguished from mainline Pentecostal Churches through the emphasis on speaking in tongues and other charismatic gifts.

“to become the predominant global form of Christianity of the 21<sup>st</sup> century” (Casanova, 2001:435). Due to the movement’s fluidity and the lack of standardisation among scholars on what the term PC includes (Corten & Marshall-Fratani, 2001:4; Droogers, 2001:46), statistics on PC Christians vary.<sup>7</sup> However, conservative estimates put the number at around 250 million (Pew Forum, 2011).

Formative PCCs demonstrated a more egalitarian structure in comparison to mainline churches, and were often comprised of people from diverse economic, social, and geographic contexts (Robbins, 2004:118). This led some scholars to focus on the movement’s potential contribution to efforts of political democratisation (Brusco, 1995; Dodson, 1997). While several academic contributions (Berger, 1990; Coleman, 2000; Lehman, 2002) point to the homogenising effect and uniformity of global PC Christianity, Bastian (1993) highlights the way PCCs appropriate specific cultural practices as a central component to church expansion.

In Uganda PCCs demonstrate consistencies with the broader global movement, but churches rely on cultural specificity. Ugandan PCCs are very diverse—in practice, structure, and theological belief—and are ingrained in the socio-political and cultural context. While Ugandan PCCs demonstrate consistencies with academic debates, the movement has evolved with its growth and heightened engagement with politics. A history of PCCs in Uganda will be explored in greater depth [see Chapter II] but it is necessary to briefly consider the rise of PC Christianity in Uganda and the main ways PCCs are approached in literature.

Beginning in the 1970s a global wave of PC Christianity was radically transforming the religious landscape throughout sub-Saharan Africa, and reached East Africa in the 1980s (Anderson, 2001:173-177). These new churches found a political and social climate that proved amenable to their growth. For Uganda when Yoweri Museveni took power in 1986, the National Resistance Movement (NRM) ushered in an expanding climate of religious freedom (Gifford, 1998). In a short time PC

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<sup>7</sup> Some statistics include people who identify as evangelical, some as charismatic, and some as Pentecostal-Charismatic (Robbins, 2004). While not everyone who attends a PCC may publicly identify of PC.



Christianity transformed the Christian demographics in Uganda, historically duopolised by Anglican and Catholic churches (Gifford, 1998:179).

The new churches found Uganda in need of Divine intervention. According to Paul, a regular worshiper at *Miracle Centre*, “the years of war and political [instability] left us with nothing...Uganda with nothing...we needed God...and God came” (Participant Observation, January 2012). Literature on PCCs considers their use of the prosperity gospel of wealth (Corten & Marshall-Fratani, 2001; Haynes, 2012; Marshall-Fratani, 1998; Maxwell, 1998; Meyer, 1997, 2004) and health (Coleman, 2002; Comaroff & Comaroff, 2000; Gifford, 2004; Hasu, 2006; Hunt, 2000) in driving church popularity. For example, at *Miracle Centre* the prosperity gospel and miracle healing drive church attendance, and it is one of the largest and most financially solvent PCCs in all of Uganda.

The prosperity gospel suggests that financial blessing and good health are the manifestations of Divine will, “promising reward for totally non-economic reasons...a belief that God will not allow his faithful to perish” (Ranger, 2003:117). The emphasis on health comes in the form of Divine healing, where “nothing is too big for the Lord and God can heal you of anything if you just believe” (MCC Participant Observation, December 2011). For Paul prosperity was what the nation needed following the years of violence and social insecurity during the times of Milton Obote and Idi Amin [see Chapter II]. According to Paul, “what was left [after Amin and the years that followed]...nothing...there was sickness...so many people died...we needed to thrive...we needed to reap God’s harvest” (MCC Participant Observation, January 2012). Yet, many PCCs are now becoming more critical of the prosperity gospel [see Chapter V] and view the miraculous emphasis on wealth and health to undermine spirituality, and take away personal responsibility [see Chapter VI].

Churches’ global ties are also attributed to their appeal (Anderson, 2004; Englund, 2003; Marshall-Fratani, 1998; Meyer, 1998, 2002, 2004, 2010; Robbins, 2003; van Dijk, 2004), because “new PCCs promise to link up their born-again believers with

global circuits” (Meyer, 2004:448). The incorporation into global networks proves enticing in the developing world, where believers often feel excluded from the global economy. For Peter, a worshiper at *Miracle Centre Church*, when Museveni took power “we were not a part of the rest of the world...we were not the world” (MCC Participant Observation, January 2012). Yet, Ugandan PCCs are critical of the global, where “the outside world has gone adrift...[and] capsized” (One Love Participant Observation, May 2010). In church discourse, Uganda is seen to be on the righteous path, as long as believers follow the principles of PC faith. Rather than integration into the global, the emphasis is on the nation. PC discourse aims to ‘lift up’ Uganda—economically, morally, and, politically—to make the country an example for other nations to follow.

An equally prevailing line of inquiry looks at rupture (Daswani, 2011; Engelke, 2010; Marshall, 2009; Robbins, 2004; 2007; van Dijk, 1998, 2009) and explains the mass appeal of PCCs as a result of their ability to offer the converted a ‘break with the past’ (Engelke, 2004; Meyer, 1998). For Meyer (1998) PC Christianity provides adherents with the ability to forge a new modern identity by breaking with ‘tradition’ or the ‘past’ through “dialectics of remembering and forgetting” (Meyer, 1998:318).<sup>8</sup> According to Brian, a regular at *One Love*, “traditional ways can be bad...polygamy...witchcraft...I wanted a traditional marriage, I wanted to be polygamous like my father...but I became saved, and now I know [polygamy] is not good for my life” (One Love Participant Observation, March 2012).

As this thesis will demonstrate, in Uganda PCCs display a selective process of ‘remembering and forgetting’. Yet, they actively engage with the past—albeit a selective past—and tradition. Although Meyer’s (1998) ‘break with the past’ has proved a valuable and significant line of inquiry, in the Ugandan context the ‘break’ is inconsistent and necessitates a more nuanced consideration of the past. My research demonstrates a new way of understanding the PC ‘break’. PCCs ‘remember’ and draw on both the past and tradition as positives, as well as negatives. Aspects of

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<sup>8</sup> While discourse promises a ‘break with the past’ adherents are unable to make a ‘complete break’ (Meyer, 1998:318).

the past must be recreated and tradition is upheld for the future to ‘lift up the nation’ (MCC Participant Observation, December 2011). This is tied to PC churches’ nationalist aims and engagement with sexuality.

### ***The Pentecostal-Charismatic Public Sphere***

PCCs are pervasive in the Ugandan public sphere. Messages of salvation inundate public space. PCCs line streets, music of salvation and prayer escapes from church walls, and roadside preachers ask, “Are you saved?”. Billboards advertise churches, alongside HIV campaigns that mirror the moral messages preached at Sunday services. Sexual purity is a central message of PCCs, and it maintains a clear space in the public sphere. Sexuality discourse cannot be untangled from the ‘Pentecostalisation’ of the Ugandan public.

During my fieldwork I was unsure of what to make of the engagement with the past and tradition. These churches displayed inconsistencies with prevailing research on PCCs throughout sub-Saharan Africa. I attended a weekly church event or a Sunday sermon, and time and time again tradition and the past came up—sometimes skeptically—but more often than not as positives, something to preserve and recreate. One day after a Saturday night sermon at *Watoto Church*, one of my four case studies, I sat outside developing my notes while the sermon was fresh in my memory. Sitting on the concrete stairs outside of the church door—the stairs where I was first asked about my own salvation—I began to consider why, what factor led to use of a frame of tradition? On those stairs I scoured my field notes and drew a web diagram. Reading through church events and interviews I looked for consistent themes.

Above the diagram I made two notes. Why does PC discourse diverge from previous manifestations in Uganda and throughout Africa? What factor has brought about a positive reliance on tradition, a negative critique of the global, and less reliance on the prosperity gospel? The consistent factor is sexuality.

These preliminary questions uncovered the consistencies in Ugandan PC discourse, and the main thematic focus while in the field. Sexuality is not only about the act of sex, it carries along a complex web of social meaning and tension. The way that PCCs engage with sexuality by utilising the past and tradition reveals underlying tensions about local sovereignty and the state and the multifaceted dynamic between the global and local. Before proceeding to my research question and case studies, it is necessary to briefly explore the themes that emerge around sexuality, and the frame of PC discourse in the Ugandan public sphere.

Pentecostal-Charismatic Churches espouse a message of personal moral transformation that inundates and shapes discourse in the Ugandan public sphere, or what Taylor defines as “a common space [to]... discuss matters of common interest” (Taylor, 1992:220-221).<sup>9</sup> This transformation relies on principles of personal responsibility, particularly ‘sexual integrity’, and encourages believers to adopt sexually chaste lifestyles.

In the process PC discourse advocating for transformation incorporates a notion of African tradition that conflates African with Christian, particularly in regard to sexuality [see Chapter III]. Yet, the frame of tradition in church discourse relies on narratives constructed by British authorities and Christian missionaries to justify the colonial project [see Chapters II and III], that were re-appropriated by African Christian communities—first the Catholic and Anglican, and now the PC—as well as local politicians [see Chapters II and III]. The most illustrative narrative is the story of the Ugandan Martyrs [see Chapter II], Christian pages reputedly executed for spurning the homosexual advances of the Bugandan king in the 1880s. According to Blevins, the executed male pages “were recent converts to Christianity and many accounts of the execution highlight the pages’ refusal to submit to the king’s sexual demands as the cause of their execution” (Blevins, 2012:51).

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<sup>9</sup> For the purpose of analysis morality refers to a Pentecostal-Charismatic worldview that is formed from a direct, literal, and often personal interpretation of scripture. ‘Morality’ is a strict physical and spiritual discipline that stresses abstinence and sexual chastity, and denounces homosexuality.

In collective memory the use of narratives, like the Martyrs, works to situate African sexuality as heteronormative, and homosexuality as ‘un-African’ [see Chapter III], while establishing the ‘authentic’ past with the introduction of Christianity. The remembered past directs future transformation.<sup>10</sup> The draw on tradition and the past offers a collective national memory and a vision of a utopian future. The future begins by establishing moral individuals in the here and now.

Transformation is not just a personal experience. In Pentecostal circles the concept is applied to the national level wherein the moral transformation of the Ugandan citizenry enables national prosperity and increased state autonomy.<sup>11</sup> In recent years discourse emanating from the Ugandan public, civil society, and the political sphere reflects the moral language and transformative objectives of PCCs. PC discourse is interwoven into political, public health, and legislative initiatives. The Office of the First Lady distributes bumper stickers that state, “Abstinence and Faithfulness 100% Guaranteed” (Fieldwork Observation, May 2010), while President Museveni dedicated the city of Kampala to God in an event organised by the Uganda Jubilee Network, an interfaith organisation of Anglican and Pentecostal churches (New Vision, 9/10/2012). As a relatively new denomination in Uganda, in the course of three decades these churches have redefined the religious and political landscape, and impact the nature of Ugandan politics and constructions of citizenship.

In the thesis I examine two areas where the influence of PCCs on the state are the most revealing: public health and sexuality. Throughout the past two decades public health initiatives on HIV shifted away from early integrative approaches, like condom use, in favour of the abstinence and monogamy methods supported by PCCs. The role of PCCs in public health is complex, but my analytical focus on health is framed by the importance of the body and sexuality in PC strategies of

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<sup>10</sup> In PC discourse—and in the broader Ugandan public sphere—the past and tradition are not always separately distinguished and are often blurred.

<sup>11</sup> Autonomy is used to describe the relationship PCCs advocate for in relation to the development industry and internal donors. In church discourse the state’s dependency on foreign aid is seen to undermine national morality and culture, while keeping Uganda politically and financially subordinate to foreign powers.

transformation.<sup>12</sup> Most significantly the HIV epidemic served to legitimise PCCs in civil society as development practitioners, and brought them into the political arena of the state [see Chapter II]. Simultaneously the HIV epidemic redefined the boundaries of public discourse, and sexuality became a topic for public debate.

The *new* public frame of sexuality brought forth by the HIV epidemic reveals the primary focus of investigation, the interaction between PCCs and sexuality.<sup>13</sup> In 2009 born-again MP David Bahati proposed the AHB, which extends existing penal codes to further criminalise homosexuality [see Chapter III]. Morally informed discourse functions as a mandate for political agenda, and current initiatives on public health and laws regulating sexuality demonstrate the influence that the PC community holds over public opinion, civil society, and the post-colonial state.

The PC frame of sexuality uncovers the dynamic between PC discourse, the state, and constructions of national citizenship. Yet, it simultaneously unlocks tensions between multiple discourses that are codified by the PC community as either local or global.<sup>14</sup> In Uganda, PC Christianity has manifested as a nationalist movement. PCCs appropriate the past and tradition to legitimise the nationalist frame and reject ‘outside interference’. Just as HIV opened up the public sphere for public discussions of sex, it also allowed voices from marginal communities, like Ugandan lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and intersex (LGBTI), to claim a public voice [see Chapter III], and offer what Warner deems a “counterpublic discourse” by *a* public aware “of its subordinate status” in *the* collective public (Warner, 2002:424).<sup>15</sup> If ‘African’ sexuality is presented as heteronormative in PC discourse, homosexuality is framed as distinctly un-African. Discourses of human rights used by LGBTI activists represent the global, and the tensions that surround sexuality in Uganda disclose underlying anxieties about national sovereignty [see Chapter III]. In light of the

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<sup>12</sup> Strategies of transformation are both individual moral transformation and national transformation.

<sup>13</sup> However, public discussions on sexuality were less taboo and a staple of colonial administrations [see Chapter III] (Hoad, 2007). In a way this is a return to a colonial frame of sexuality—*i.e.*, discussions on sexuality dominant in the public sphere—and demonstrates the way PC Christianity has redefined the post-colonial state’s engagement with sexuality.

<sup>14</sup> Local refers to the geographic area of Uganda, but it is also used to incorporate ideas of tradition and the past (which are conflated in PC discourse).

<sup>15</sup> In the same way the Legislation has inadvertently given voice to the local LGBTI community by reinforcing discussions of sexuality in the public sphere.

interaction between sexuality and PCCs in the public sphere the research question and the central argument of the thesis are now addressed.

### ***Research Question & Argument***

Before I present my case studies, I turn to the work's research question and argument. My main research question asks:

What does the primacy of sexuality in Pentecostal-Charismatic discourse reveal about strategies of governance, the negotiation of citizenship, and the relationship between the local and the global occurring in and beyond Uganda?

I address this question with a central argument. I contend that the way Pentecostal-Charismatic discourse engages with sexuality—by reinscribing the past in order to establish a moral citizenry to transform the future—reveals tensions in the public sphere and the negotiation of citizenship, and perpetuates the indistinct boundaries between religion, politics, and governance.

### ***Case Studies & Methods***

I addressed this question through extended primary fieldwork coupled with discursive analysis. My fieldwork took place in Kampala, Uganda, where I focused on four case studies, *Miracle Centre*, *One Love Church*, *Watoto*, and *Covenant Nations Church*, each incredibly diverse. The main research period occurred for approximately eleven months, from October 2011 to August 2012.

While the majority of my analysis is based on the period of research from 2011 to 2012, I also conducted a period of follow-up research for six weeks from March to April 2013. The extended timeframe was invaluable, because the AHB was under debate the entire period. The follow-up period allowed me to focus on further developing any gaps in the data. The time away from Uganda was spent framing and analysing initial findings.

A preliminary six-week research period for my MSc dissertation occurred from May 2010 to June 2010. The initial research project considered one of the same case studies, *One Love*. However, the focus of the research was on the impact of PC discourse on HIV/AIDS. This project considered how individual behaviour in PC communities diverged from private practices. During this project I was first exposed to the frame of sexuality in PCCs.

I always intended to extend the MSc project into doctoral research and include sexuality, because sexuality was so central in church discourse. As a result I used this period to gauge the possibility of including sexuality in future research, and establish contacts in the PC community. The community was accessible, and participants were open to discuss private issues like sexuality and sexually transmitted disease.

Each case study was deliberately selected to demonstrate the variety of PCCs in urban Kampala. Each case study is very diverse, but have similarities. For example, *Miracle* and *Watoto* are both very large and cater to congregations in the thousands. Yet, the two churches are very different as well. *Watoto*'s Pastor Gary Skinner is a Canadian who was trained in a seminary. *Miracle* was founded by the self-trained Ugandan Pastor Robert Kayanja. The churches' size, structure, congregations, and location in the city all differed. While each church was extremely distinct, and at times antagonistic towards each other [see Chapters IV and V], with time consistent themes emerged. The unifying threads of nationalism, tradition, time, purity, family/children, and transformation proved constants.

### *Case Studies*

Researching the Ugandan PC community was challenging. Religious belief systems are complex, overlapping, and, at times—particularly with the divergence among PC practitioners—incoherent. Additionally, PCCs are strongly reliant on the church leader's personality and own theological interpretations of scripture. The great diversity of theological interpretation and structure of Ugandan PCCs led to the selection of case studies. The range of churches provides a representative—albeit partial—view of the movement's diversity.



When I arrived in Kampala in October 2011, I went to numerous PCCs—*Victory Centre, Omega Healing Church, Lifeline Ministries, Full Gospel, Deliverance, Elim*—for the first three months to sample the churches, and decide which would be the most appropriate for further study, represent the context, and show the variety and consistencies in PC discourse. Eventually I narrowed my study to a sample of four, *One Love, Watoto, Miracle, and Covenant Nations*.

While the majority of my case studies were selected during this period, one church—*One Love*—was included in my initial MSc project, and selected before fieldwork began. Since I included *One Love* during my first research trip in 2010, I did not attend regular Sunday services during the three-month survey period in 2011. I began comprehensive participant observations at *One Love* in December 2011.

Although it has received an abundance of international press (Sharlet, 2010) and academic attention (Gusman, 2009; Sadgrove, 2007), including *One Love* in the study was necessary [see Chapter V]. Founding Pastor Martin Ssempe has been instrumental in the push towards abstinence and monogamy approaches in HIV/AIDS, and is a vocal member of the anti-gay campaign in the city and in the country.

*One Love* is a small yet influential church that caters to students from Makerere University. The inclusion of *One Love* makes the study more representative. Due to its student congregation the church brings in fewer weekly donations than the other churches. Additionally it is the only case without its own church building; it meets at Makerere University for Sunday services. The inclusion of *One Love* shows the contrasts in size and finances in Ugandan PCCs.

Emotionally I found *One Love* the most demanding service to attend. Pastor Ssempe proves an effective and charismatic speaker, yet his adamant and at times mocking denunciations of homosexuality were difficult to hear. Due to the small congregation the relative anonymity I felt at *Miracle* and *Watoto* was absent, and the *Covenant Nations*' staff and volunteers include Westerners working within the church and

attending services. Ssempe's negative portrayal in the Western media has left him somewhat sceptical of foreign researchers and journalists.<sup>16</sup>

Time did bring a better understanding of Ssempe's perspective. His advocated methods of HIV prevention *are* effective when *followed* absolutely. While it is difficult to objectively accept his extreme denunciations of homosexuality, divergent sexuality represents a tangible threat to his own system of morality. However, I was concerned that both my discomfort during Sunday services and his perceived scepticism of me would impact the data.<sup>17</sup>

As a result I involved an assistant to help with the research process, which enabled more comprehensive data collection from all four case studies without the concern that my presence would influence the intimate dynamics of *One Love*. While the data collected by my researcher proved invaluable—offering a holistic view of *One Love* and confirming the consistency of the sermons—for the purpose of uniform analysis I draw upon data from the Sunday services I personally attended. I made this decision because I use the research he collected as a control, to measure if the themes were consistent or affected by my attendance. While the themes proved consistent regardless of my presence, I decided to rely on notes from when I was present.

I met my Ugandan research assistant, Paul, during my initial research period in Kampala in 2010.<sup>18</sup> Paul, himself a born-again, is single and in his late thirties. He is a member of a PCC not under consideration. Paul was very enthusiastic about the project. I involved him slowly in order to understand his motivations, and to assess his proficiency for research. His understanding of PC Christianity in Kampala was vital to comprehending the movement in context.

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<sup>16</sup> This is not to say Pastor Ssempe does not have Westerners in the church, his wife is American and North Americans were present at several services I attended. However, in comparison to Covenant Nations they are less a presence and regarded with more curiosity.

<sup>17</sup> I interpreted that my presence was looked at sceptically by Ssempe based on the negative press he has garnered from the international media, in my own interview with him he denounced Western journalists who attended his church to later "misrepresent" his views publicly (Ssempe Interview, May 2012).

<sup>18</sup> For the purpose of anonymity names have been changed.

Because of Paul I was welcomed by members of the broader church community, and I attended local PC functions in private homes. Most importantly he helped me understand contextual nuance and language, and he explained any references to the Luganda language. While he had not conducted research of this nature before, he had experience collecting census data. His main responsibility as a research assistant was to transcribe twenty-six Sunday services that I did not attend from December 2011 to June 2012.

The next churches selected were *Miracle* and *Watoto Central* [see Chapters IV and VI]. The choice of each is based on their comparable size (both churches have some of the largest congregations) and very different founders. *Watoto* has the strongest external roots [see Chapter VI]. Founded by Gary Skinner, while born in Zimbabwe his family is Canadian, the church offers the clearest links to the West. The church trains all of its pastors in theology and is institutionalised. The decision to include *Watoto* was based on its size and influence.

In contrast to *Watoto*, *Miracle* was founded by the self-trained Pastor Robert Kayanja, and is one of the largest and wealthiest PCCs in Kampala. Kayanja is the most vocal advocate of the prosperity gospel, and he has been directly accused of homosexuality or paedophilia by fellow pastors, including Pastor Ssempe of *One Love* [see Chapter IV and V]. Due to the church's size, style of worship, and accusations of homosexuality I selected *Miracle*.

The final church was *Covenant Nations Church (CNC)*, founded by a first daughter, Patience Rwabwogo [see Chapter VII], first lady Janet Museveni is in regular attendance. *CNC* has a small but influential congregation associated with President Museveni's party the NRM. While the size is comparable to *One Love* the congregation is older and wealthier. I included *CNC* because of its direct political connections to the NRM. The selection of the four churches offers a diverse range of the broader Ugandan public and variety of PCCs in Kampala.

## *Methods*

This work aims to ground discourse within a specific socio-political context to understand the micro-macro relationship between discursive formations and the broader social reality, and thus relies on a combination of both discursive analysis and ethnographic methods. The use of both helps to highlight different levels of examination and allows analysis to integrate various topics (*i.e.* politics, health, sexuality, religion) in an effort to understand how they work together, while permitting me to embark on a research project that posed numerous challenges, like access. First combining discourse analysis with ethnographic methods permits two levels of investigation, the macro and micro, enabling an understanding of how discursive formations allow individuals to negotiate broader questions of citizenship, sexuality, identity and religion within a globalised world and vice-versa.

Macro political and religious discourses circulating throughout the public sphere are effectively approached through discursive means to help identify larger power dynamics, while ethnographic methods allow me as the researcher to see how these broader power dynamics and discourses impact individual behaviour and understandings of the social context. Taking these two approaches together fills the gap between “macro-‘discourses’ and micro-levels of interaction” (Benwell *et al.*, 2006:44), or mediates “between the more macro socio-political contexts above and the more micro linguistic contexts below...[where] subjectivity emerges in relation to the contingency of social context” (Glynos *et al.*, 2009:20).

On the macro scale I use a critical discourse analysis (CDA) approach, “characterized by the common interests in de-mystifying ideologies and power through the...investigation of semiotic data (written, spoken or visual)” (Wodak & Meyer, 2009:3). CDA describes discourse as an expression of social practices. According to Fairclough and Wodak, seeing discourse as social practice:

[I]mplicates a dialectical relationship between a particular discursive event and the situation(s), institution(s) and social structure(s) which frame it: The discursive event is shaped by them, but it also shapes them...discourse is socially constitutive as well as socially conditioned...[and] gives rise to important issues of power.

Discursive practices may have major ideological effects” (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997:258).

A central understanding of CDA is that discourse is a form of power, and the approach helps to investigate social inequities and power dynamics through the use of language (Wodak & Meyer, 2009:10). CDA aims to make obscured power relations more explicit and recognises that social relations are fundamentally discursive. At this level I draw on discourse from the political sphere, particularly from President Museveni and M.P. David Bahati, using some newspapers and other media outlets. On the discursive level data collected from government and/or media sources are utilised to see how it has evolved over time and who contributes to its production (Torrönen, 2005, 146). More broadly on the level of social practice, institutions and social conditions come to light by focusing on the political and social frames that are elucidated through discourse (Torrönen 2005, 147). Collecting data from these sources permits examination on the macro levels of discursive and social practice.

Yet the vast majority of the discourse comes from primary participant observations at weekend services and other church events, interviews, focus groups, and church-produced ephemera. It also draws on interviews conducted in the government and health sector—at the Ministry of Ethics and the Ministry of Health—and civil society, like born-again NGOs and LGBTI organisations. Combining ethnographic methods with discourse analysis offers an innovative way to approach complex social realities, where data gathered from the ethnographic process “provides the means to construct an interpretive context within which to understand and analyse the social and political actions studied” and proves necessary to contextualise discursive analysis (Glynos *et al.*, 2009:23). Further my reliance on qualitative methods reflects the usefulness of the approach to understand processes that affect change (Gillham, 2000:11).

My hybrid approach relied on ethnographic methods that included regular participant observations, informal and semi-structured interviews, and focus groups. Basing discursive analysis on ethnographic fieldwork “not only allows gathering instances

of discourse collected in their immediate-institutional context...but also helps discovering the nature and constituents” of contexts while maintaining a “multi-level definition of context” necessary when considering the multiple local, regional, and global actors involved in the case of Uganda (Kryzanowski, 2011:287). While in the field, paper versions of Ugandan newspapers like *The Daily Monitor* and *The New Vision* were gathered, and during the analysis process I regularly checked online versions, as well as the blogs of LGBTI activists. I amassed a large collection of church-produced films, digital sermons, books, and other forms of church-produced ephemera. While not all of the case studies rely on technology, *Watoto* and *Miracle Centre* have regularly updated websites, and *One Love’s* Pastor Ssempe has a personal blog and *Twitter* account. The use of these sources allowed me to amass a larger (both in quantity and time) data collection to see how discourses have evolved over time and gain access to the public positions and statements of key figures, like the Museveni family, who prove inaccessible to merely ethnographic methods alone.

### *Field Methods*

I attended regular Sunday services alternating between *CNC*, *Miracle* and *One Love*. Due to the size of its congregation, *Watoto* offers a Saturday evening service, which I attended weekly. Additionally I attended regular church events, like Friday night prayer lock-ins, cell meetings, and prayer groups. However, the extent of my participation in services and church events was limited. I stood for songs and prayers, and read along with the sermon in my own copy of the Bible. When the pastor asked us to greet our neighbours, I shook hands with those around me and offered blessings. Yet, I did not experience the service like those around me. I was limited by my position as a researcher and by my own beliefs. I am not a born-again Christian. The most important aspect of their belief system—salvation—is something I never experienced, so I was always an outsider in that regard. I attempted to understand the experience of salvation by informal interviews with members of church congregations about how salvation changed their lives.

I interviewed senior members of all of the churches under consideration and provided them with transcripts of the interviews. However, I did not interview any

senior staff at *CNC*. Due to Rwabwogo's status as a first daughter access proved more limited, and the discourse analysed is drawn from Sunday participant observations and informal interviews with the congregation, as well as public interviews given by Rwabwogo printed in the press. As a result the data collected at *CNC* is more limited than those from the other churches. However, due to the overwhelming influence of the congregation the decision to include the church proved vital.

I conducted interviews with the local LGBTI community, including an extensive semi-structured interview with the activist organisation *Icebreakers Uganda*, and with numerous individual activists through informal interviews, in an effort to gain a holistic view of LGBTI activism and the ways in which the LGBTI community view the Pentecostal-Charismatic community. While some LGBTI Ugandans claim dual identity—both born-again and LGBTI—the majority positioned 'gay' and 'born-again' to be in conflict, and this view prevailed within the Pentecostal-Charismatic churches under consideration. As a result, any perceived 'allegiance' that I formed to the Ugandan LGBTI community would have worked to diminish access and openness in the PC community.

Additionally I conducted interviews at the Ministry of Ethics, a branch of the office of the President. The Ministry has proved vital in bringing homosexuality, and more broadly sexuality, into public debate. A semi-structured interview was conducted with the Deputy Director. I conducted numerous interviews with the Ministry of Health, the Ugandan AIDS Commission, Straight Talk, and the Ugandan Health Marketing Board to understand how the nature of public discourse around HIV has changed, and the frame of HIV within the PCC.

In addition to public discourse I draw on secondary sources, archival and statistical research, that concerns public health initiatives and rates of HIV infection. Through primary observations I can understand the significance of Pentecostal-Charismatic discourse first-hand, while secondary research allowed me to correlate this—over time—with changes in public policy, for example public health approaches to

mitigate the transmission of HIV.

### *Limitations*

During my time in the field I had many concerns about the research. Discussions concerning HIV and sexuality were difficult. During an interview with Moses, a preacher at *Miracle*, he explained that he had contracted HIV years ago, but after his conversion he was healed of the virus. He elaborated on his life after his conversion, stating he had since married a woman who was HIV negative and had several children. This exchange highlights that my role as a researcher is to listen and understand his perspective, not disprove his claims.

The topic of sexuality offered its own emotional difficulties. During a focus group participants shared their views on homosexuality and the then proposed AHB. One participant, a born-again Christian and law student studying human rights stated, “The homosexuality legislation even I agree with that...I would support the death penalty...[when you] are raped by someone you [can] turn out to be a homosexual...homosexuality and paedophilia are the same, if you have a non-repentant person you should just execute them” (Focus Group, May 2010).<sup>19</sup> While the statement proved antithetical to my own views—my private shock highlighted my own opinions and the difficulties of conducting further research—yet the willingness of the participant to discuss homosexuality proved the project was feasible.

As a female American research student, the wave of negative attention Uganda has received in the international press, as in the BBC documentary *The World's Worst Place to be Gay*, has led many locals to be sceptical of foreign researchers talking about sexuality. Scepticism is not only due to the negative international media

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<sup>19</sup> The Focus Group was conducted at a restaurant in Kampala, all where graduates from Makerere University. The Focus Group was semi-structured and recorded, with the consent of participants.  
Participant A: 24 year old female member of Makerere (One Love);  
Participant B: 23 year old female member of Full Gospel;  
Participant C: 23 year old female member of Miracle Centre;  
Participant D: 23 year old female member of Watoto Church;  
Participant E: 26 year old male member of Covenant Nations.



attention, but also to the frame of homosexuality in Uganda. Non-normative sexuality exists as a learned practice rather than biological pre-set. In the public sphere homosexuality is represented as taught to the vulnerable youth by Westerners looking to recruit new homosexuals. Tabloids regularly account tales of ‘sodomised boys’ detailing lurid acts of ‘sex romps’ complete with graphic images (Red Pepper, 24/2/2012).

Safety was another concern. When I began my research many members of the expatriate community warned me about the dangers involved. I was told unverified stories about other researchers who ‘disappeared’ or were involved in suspicious traffic-related deaths after visiting LGBTI organisations. Yet, concerns over the safety of such research were grounded. In 2011, Ugandan LGBTI activist David Kato was murdered in his home. This impacted the ways I broached sexuality within the churches. Discussions on sexuality came slowly. First I would establish a relationship with the participant through several informal interviews. When I felt more comfortable I broached the topic of sexuality, and when asked I offered my own views.

The current climate poses great uncertainty and risk to the LGBTI community. Before probing further my own views must be addressed. As my views do not align with the churches under consideration, I felt this could impact my findings. Yet, the extended time in the field—while I never came to agree with the churches—helped to create an understanding of their views.

Conducting research on issues that have such profound human rights implications runs the risk of blurring the boundary between researcher and activist. The expansion of anthropology into the field of advocacy is a legitimate and vital subfield of the discipline. Applied anthropology seeks to make academic knowledge accessible to subaltern communities to help effect change. Most simply, applied anthropology is the discipline in practice, or “put to use” outside of academic circles (van Willigen, 1993:7). For Chambers applied “anthropologists use the knowledge, skills, and perspective of their discipline to help solve human problems and facilitate change” (Chambers, 1985:8).

While my work aims to produce new knowledge that is accessible to broader communities to help dispel the epistemological fog that often clouds and isolates academic research, I do not directly align myself with the Ugandan LGBTI community, as doing so would have undermined attempts at some form of objectivity and would have disrupted my position within the churches under consideration during the research process. Conducting primary ethnographic research is a dialogical process, wherein “the anthropologist not only observes...but is also observed” and the data obtained is “not produced by the anthropologist’s action alone...[but] the interaction between” the researcher and the subject (Spiro, 1996:760).

The goal of my research was to understand the meaning of the Pentecostal-Charismatic community to the Ugandan public sphere and subsequently the nation, which is contingent on understanding the local born-again worldview of morality, and how they position disease and sexuality. While I consider myself in solidarity with the struggles of the Ugandan LGBTI community, this work is not for the singular purpose of furthering the LGBTI movement but to understand the far reaching impact of the Pentecostal-Charismatic community over the Ugandan state and society.

### *Ethical Considerations*

Such a study holds numerous limitations related to ethical issues. Primary limitations include safety and access—for both the researcher and the participants—particularly as topics of sexuality and disease are essential to the examination. Whilst participants proved willing to discuss and condemn homosexuality, they may have been more reluctant to disclose opposition to the AHB or commonly held Pentecostal-Charismatic attitudes (if opposition was present). Openly speaking out against such attitudes can place participants and the researcher in danger, as gay rights activists in Uganda can be at risk (Guardian, 27/1/2011).

Additionally, beyond physical harm, public accusations of homosexuality can result in exclusion from their religious communities. As a researcher, being associated with

gay- rights activist groups limits access to the Pentecostal-Charismatic community. Therefore I did not disclose my own views about homosexuality, unless I had developed a personal relationship with the participant, as it affected my access to church communities.

Maintaining the anonymity of participants is paramount to their safety and privacy. Therefore the names of participants are all withheld, unless they are public figures. During fieldwork notes were anonymous, and separate journals were kept for LGBTI interviews and church interviews. This limited risk if field notes were lost. Data was never shown to others for the protection of all participants. All discussions regarding sexuality and HIV/AIDS status were conducted privately, away from fellow congregational members. The purpose of research aimed to understand discourse on HIV and did not heavily engage with HIV status, although as demonstrated it did arise, however, I focused more on the administrative side of public health policy.

When possible direct participants were informed of research aims, except when sexuality was not discussed. While my research presents views I personally find abhorrent, I do worry that the need to suppress my own views could be taken as passive validation. However, it was unavoidable in the research process. Above all my work aims to increase the production of knowledge to help facilitate change. While the participants that helped me may oppose the 'change' I wish to facilitate, not disclosing my own views proved an ethical dilemma. However, current trends in Uganda hold greater risk for the lives of its people, and I believe that outweighs full disclosure. It was impractical to acquire written consent from participants, but the research project was disclosed and all formal interviews where anonymity is not extended (public figures) were provided transcripts after the interview, to allow them to amend or retract any statements.

### *Conceptual Points of Departure*

Before each chapter overview some conceptual points of departure are considered, followed by the analytical framework. Consistent themes emerge in Pentecostal-Charismatic discourse, but these themes and analytical concepts must be untangled. Relying on an analytic toolbox provided by Foucault this section addresses how the thesis imagines discourse and governmentality in relation to Ugandan Pentecostal movement. This is followed by a consideration of citizenship, nationalism, and the interaction between politics and the nation.

### *Discourse*

As discussed a hybrid ethnographic discursive approach proves useful for collecting and analysing multiple levels of discourse in context and understanding how a wide array of topics coalesce. The hybrid approach is a useful technique for tackling sensitive and complex subjects that involve a broad spectrum of actors, while conceptually analysing discourse reveals how power operates and helps to explain the Ugandan example. If strategies of national transformation begin with the individual, evidenced through fieldwork that relied on ethnographic methods, the modes PCCs use to shape people's subjectivities, bodies, and sexualities must still be unpacked in order to understand how the movement operates and its broader implications for the Ugandan public. While I offer a brief conceptual overview, these themes will be revisited throughout the proceeding chapters.

PCCs provide a new form of discursive authority in the public sphere. Previously the Anglican and Catholic traditions formed a relative duopoly over the Christian community. Both hold very different theological beliefs than PC Christians, and the Anglican and Catholic presence in the Ugandan public sphere was markedly different than the Pentecostal community [see Chapter II]. I suggest this newfound discursive presence helps shape not only individual subjectivities but with churches rising political influence national policy has begun to mirror Pentecostal ideology as well.

One way Pentecostalism has proved so pervasive in the lives of believers is the comprehensive way it creates a Pentecostal subject. Marshall describes this as “Rather than adherence to a particular group or institution” the main goal of Pentecostalism is the “transformation and control of individual conduct and the creation of a particular type of moral subject” (Marshall, 2009:131). PC discourse “does not work by coercion but as a structure of action that incites, induces and guides” (Lindhardt, 2012:149). I suggest that PC subjectivities have become internalised, but what does this mean? Divorced from consciousness or agency, subjectivities are established through discourse, beyond language, but as a system of representation (Foucault, 1972). According to Foucault our perceptions of the truth and “the production of knowledge [is done] through language...since all social practices entail meaning, and meanings shape and influence what we do—our conduct—all practices have a discursive aspect” (Foucault, 1972:117).

Churchgoers are encouraged throughout sermons at *Watoto* to “bring their kingdom mindedness” or belief system into all aspects of their lives particularly the work place [see Chapter VI], while *One Love* espouses the virtues of being “born again first...before a teacher, before a father, before a husband I am born again...and that teaches me how to do the other things” [see Chapter V]. Discourse is just one such means that churches create a particular moral subject. I suggest the political and social transformation occurring in Uganda operates at two facets: one is the way churches use discourse and other techniques to create a particular subjectivity within individuals, who in turn become more and more active Pentecostal citizens in the Ugandan public, advocating for policy and social reform.

Secondly PC discourse helps shape the character of the public sphere itself, which in turn can generate particular moral subjectivities. Pentecostal discourses consume headlines and church messages envelop public space, particularly in regard to sexuality. The public is told that the time is now for Uganda, they are on “the path to tomorrow” if “immorality is stopped and Christ is started” (Participant Observation, February 2012). The mere omnipresence of these intertwined messages of morality,

progress and salvation [in]advertently help inform the very subjectivities of the greater public, working to recalibrate the moral barometer.

Yet, church discourses are not hermetically sealed; and interact with other messages that carry along alternative meanings and ideologies. While LGBTI organisations are still marginal the community attempts to make claims at public space as well, holding small pride marches where they declare sexuality is a human right, a sentiment echoed by foreign donors who have threatened to withdraw aid over the AHB. International and local non-governmental organisations (NGO) operating in Uganda incorporate human rights approaches and the questions of citizenship and sexuality that have become fundamental to the development industry (Brooks, 2014:2). PCCs interact and respond to the presence of these other discourses, discourses churches deem ‘foreign’.

Pentecostal voices are informed by these ‘foreign’ or ‘global’ discourses [see Chapter III] and in the process sites of tension, appropriation, and reaction are formed. This helps explain the way sexuality is framed in PC discourse, which often relies on appropriating an idea of ‘local’ identity and tradition where homosexuality is simply “incompatible with Uganda” and “against our ways, against our culture” as for Pentecostals Ugandan means a particular type of moral subject (Participant Observation, February 2012). While this section has briefly explored the centrality of discourse to the Pentecostal project, the next section considers the other techniques utilised by churches.

### *Governmentality*

Governmentality concerns the “art of governing” conduct through technologies of power (Foucault, 1977). While it begins with the exercise of institutional power over individuals, technologies of governmentality extend to the power exercised over oneself. This unites external powers with the choices and habits individuals make in their daily lives, governing the self. On a personal level modes of governance and discipline function so individuals can internalise a particular subjectivity to become self-governing, and individual thinking and behaviour is disciplined in accordance with a certain external power (*ibid*).

When converts become born again they are expected to break from old habits, and begin an on-going process of continued self-scrutiny in order to live a virtuous Christian life, this includes eschewing previous habits and even some friends and family. Church members internalise a set of new choices with conversion, from not drinking alcohol to engaging in pre-marital sex, practicing self-discipline in accordance to a born again lifestyle.

In Uganda forming moral subjects requires internalising subjectivities of self-control that are produced by PCCs and reinforced in state and civil institutions. While Foucault's work is limited by its concern with the Western context and lack of ethnographic foundation, these concepts still prove useful for further analysis and reveal the relationship between discourse, the individual, PCCs, and the nation.

Churches rely on modes of governmentality based on techniques of surveillance and discipline to produce particular Pentecostal subjects, who behave in accordance with church expectations. I focus on two technologies Foucault postulates: technologies of power that “determine the conduct of individuals” and technologies of the self that “permit individuals to effect by their own means” (Foucault, 1997:225). These techniques include surveillance techniques like dating in large groups with fellow church members and born again friends monitoring each other's behaviour. Pastoral and confessional techniques are also used by churches to govern and habituate converts, along with church counselling services born agains provide constant public testimonies before their congregations whenever they backslide into immoral behaviour. These techniques are coupled with self-discipline techniques like celibacy vows and chastity cards in order for converts to self-regulate as well. The modes of governmentality exhibit the power churches have over the lives of believers and how that power is enacted.

### *Citizenship*

PC discourse increasingly aligns the vantage and aims of the Ugandan state alongside a particular theological belief system—emphasising sexual purity and African identity (framed as tradition and autonomy) among other central tenets—as

PCCs strive establishing a ‘moral’ citizenry leading to prosperity and development.<sup>20</sup> PCCs are positioned in an analytical framework as key contributors to processes of political governance—as “an imagined political community”—and national belonging by means of constructing a PC national identity (Anderson, 1991:6). Yet, this drive offers a retracting public sphere and national exclusion to groups deemed outside of the bounds of PC and thus Ugandan identity.

For the purpose of analysis I examine citizenship as a cultural identity—rather than a firm political category—yet this construction of citizenship involves other dimensions. This reflects the way PCCs engage with citizenship, not as rights-based, but as a collective sense of belonging. As a political status citizenship is centred on feelings of belonging and recognition (Anderson, 1991). The actual political status of citizenship, or inclusion in political process, “bleeds into the idea of citizenship as a cultural identity. If citizenship as a legal status asks who is...a citizen, citizenship as a cultural identity poses this question: What does citizenship look like?” (O’Neill, 2010:14). Looking at citizenship as a cultural identity is fluid, and reveals how it is contextually dependant and tied to constructions of the state, and the categories that exist within, like sexuality and religion (*ibid*).

For Mamdani (1996) notions of citizenship in post-colonial Africa are bound to colonial political history, where regimes of indirect rule created to address ‘native populations’ represent the “generic form of the colonial state in Africa” (Mamdani, 1996:8). Colonial authority relied on a divide between a rights-based notion of citizenship—extended to a small minority in urban sectors—with the rural majority who were excluded from a rights-based approach to citizenship (Mamdani, 1996).

The colonial legacy produced a bifurcated or dual system of citizenship, “colonialism...created a sense of ‘dual citizenship,’ with the result that ordinary

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<sup>20</sup> Tradition and autonomy are prevailing narratives within the PCCs under consideration. Although tradition is reframed, as particular ‘traditional’ cultural practices are prioritised that are harmonious with the PC worldview, others are eschewed. Autonomy is a partial autonomy, PCCs still want to be included in the global PC movement, and incorporated into broader economic models and ‘modernity’ (in the form of technology, consumption, and economic and social development) but also call for cultural, economic, and political independence from the Western world.



people felt little, if any, moral attachment to the legal order while they continued to respect the norms of traditional society” (Halisi, 1999:2). For Ekeh (1975) colonial authorities compartmentalised the way Africans viewed the rights and obligations of citizenship. Dual citizenship is defined by the way certain communities are excluded from rights of citizenship, and how membership in other communities replace membership in the state (Halisi, 1999:3). For African contexts, the colonial legacy defined “the nature of dual citizenship, as a moral concept, depends upon its distinctive mix of liberal (individualistic) and republican (exclusivist) traditions of citizenship...[resulting] in dual publics...dual authority...[and] dual citizenship” (*ibid*). Consequently, the postcolonial legacy relies less on rights-based approaches to citizenship.

Citizenship is also a subjectivity that becomes ingrained into knowledge and belief systems, and requires Foucauldian modes of self-governance and discipline. For O’Neill, this is expressed as a “political rationality that constantly asks: What should the good citizen do?” (O’Neill, 2010:15). Modes of governmentality and discipline are integral to the construction of citizenship as a subjectivity and identity. The onus is placed on the individual to self-regulate their conduct to be ‘good citizens’. In lieu of the state “simply governing its citizens, citizens...take on the responsibility to govern themselves—to regulate their own conduct or...their neighbors’...The logic and the promise of citizenship prompt people to do things—to themselves, for their nation” (*ibid*). The involvement of PCCs in the political sphere increasingly aligns constructions of Ugandan citizenship with PC identity. PCCs’ goal of transformation exhibits nationalist aims and requires the construction of a good citizenry.

Sexuality, citizenship, and the nation are inextricable in the Ugandan PC imaginary. Conceptually the idea of the nation is predominately framed in heteronormative terms, dependent on the heterosexual family for the biological reproduction of the citizenry (Boellstorff, 2005:7). The ‘politics of citizenship’ are bound to sexual politics (Richardson, 2005:517). Yet, LGBTI discourse draws on citizenship and belonging as well. While PCCs appropriate the local, “LGBTI development activists’ performance of ‘gayness’ both appropriates internationalized queer influences and

simultaneously reflects their own, unique notions of sexual identity” and citizenship (Brooks, 2014:4). Calls for human rights and citizenship by the LGBTI community involve the construction of a *homonormative* (Duggan, 2002) sexual identity [see Chapter III].

For Richardson there is a “‘politics of normalisation’...behind contemporary sexual citizenship agendas...[that deploys] ‘sameness’ with heterosexuals...[and emphasises] the rights of individuals rather than ‘gay rights’...in seeking ‘equality’ with, rather than tolerance from, the mainstream” (Richardson, 2005:516). This takes on a global form of sexual citizenship that is contingent on sexual rights and circumvents national citizenship projects (Richardson & Seidman, 2002:11). For PCCs the demand for sexual citizenship by local and global LGBTI actors reinforces the need to call upon tradition and delineate citizenship, in order to delegitimise LGBTI claims for inclusion.

### *Nationalism*

The political engagement of PC Christianity has spurred its manifestation as a nationalist movement that seeks to define the citizenry to transform Uganda. PC nationalist discourse draws on the past to forge the nation’s future. Yet, Christianity has always been concerned with the nation. The PC tradition relies on literal interpretations of scripture (Martin, 2013:133). Taken with literal readings of Biblical texts, the emphasis on nationalism is logical. For Hastings “the Bible provided...the original model of the nation” (Hastings, 1997:4,12).

The Bible details the world as a collection of nations (Freston, 2001:312). In PC theology:

[T]he nation exists as a biblical unit of salvation as well as a Christian vehicle for belonging...Noah and the Great Flood (Genesis 6-9) fractured humanity into different nations...The Tower of Babel...continues to divide the human race with different languages...Abraham’s covenant with God, which promises him a city...becomes expanded by a divine promise made to Moses: ‘I will walk among you, and will be your God, and you shall be my people’ (O’Neill, 2010:7).

PCCs have appropriated this covenant, and seek to refashion Uganda into that holy city, to be the nation for Christ to walk among, to be their God, and be His people.

Yet, what is a nation? For Anderson, “it is an imagined political community—and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign” (Anderson, 1991:49). The members of imagined communities do not know each other or interact in any daily or physical sense, they exist together through the “image of their communion” (*ibid*). For a nation to exist it requires collective self-consciousness (Hastings, 1997:3). Extending this logic, nationalism “is the awakening of nations to self-consciousness: it invents nations where they do not exist” (Gellner, 1983:169). Yet, Anderson warns that this definition implies covert or false intentions, the process of awakening is more creation than invention (Anderson, 1991:49). Therefore nationalism ‘awakens’ nations to self-consciousness by ‘imagining’ a collective community.

Imagined communities belong to the nation and vice versa. The PC community are one such imagined community. They awaken self-consciousness, and aim to create a nation that reflects their moral principles. Through the concept of the nation, memory and time help mediate identity formation and tradition (Alonso, 1994:387). Memory, time, and space are connected and work to reinforce national identity. Common land, language, historical memory, and selective tradition strengthen the formation of a collective national identity, and thus the nation (Boyarin, 1992:1).

Memory does not exist in the past alone, but extends to imaginings of the collective future. For Alonso, “nations, after all, are commonly imagined as having a destiny and a heritage rooted in an immemorial past” (Alonso, 1994:387). Selective tradition works to construct the national past and unify the citizenry (*ibid*). Time is integral to nationalist projects. For Bakhtin the past, present, and future exist in a hierarchy where the past becomes the source for the future, and the space between the past and present is negotiated through national tradition (Bakhtin, 1981:13-14). PC discourse relies on processes of selective remembering of the past and tradition to help construct the future and constitute the citizenry.

*The Intersecting Pentecostal-Charismatic Nation & State*

The nationalist aim of PCCs contributes to public discourse. The *public rebirth* is formative because it does not disrupt the goals of the state. PC discourse parallels the early ideology of the National Resistance Movement (NRM)—nationalism and unity, pan-African liberation, and socio-economic transformation (Museveni quoted in *New Vision*, 16/1/2012). The appropriation of NRM principles reveals the ways in which discourse constitutes collective and individualised subjectivities, and how the movement calls upon the past to forge the future [see Chapter VIII]. Yet as a movement PC Christianity does not upset the *status quo*.

While international donors and activists vocally opposed the Legislation, the abating authority of the NRM is beginning to surface. NRM support of the AHB and denunciations of homosexuality are entangled with local conceptions of tradition, nationalism, and postcolonial resistance. Rejecting homosexuality is unifying—in times of political disapproval—as a discourse that elicits public support. Heterosexuality is a norm on which the frame of African tradition is based. It is a consistent narrative in the sub-Saharan context and expresses embedded postcolonial anxieties concerning western interference. But it can also obscure systemic inequities and unrest [see Chapter III].

The AHB is not isolated. In December 2013 the Ugandan Parliament passed the Anti-Pornography Bill (APB) outlining a broad definition of pornography it bans miniskirts and other sexually explicit dress, and calls for heightened restrictions in broadcasting and mediated technologies by expediting “the development or acquisition and installation of effective protective software” (Anti-Pornography Bill quoted in *Daily Monitor*, 23/2/2014).

The APB aims to reinforce local morality by outlawing the “insidious social problem” of pornography (Anti-Pornography Bill quoted in *Daily Monitor*, 19/12/2013). The parallels to the AHB are apparent, particularly the use of ‘tradition’ to strengthen legal intervention. Effectually the APB will censor the broadcasting of ‘degenerative’ western popular culture on local airwaves, while outlawing

provocative fashions for the female Ugandan public largely associated with European and North American culture. Yet, while the APB attempts to ‘shut out’ modern Western culture, it effectually borrows from the desire of colonial missionaries’ to reconstruct African bodies “confined, channelled, turned inward, and invested with self-consciousness and a sense of shame” (Comaroff & Comaroff, 1991:227). While for missionaries, Western dress was the “social skin of civility” (*ibid*), sexuality has realigned the PC perspective on Western and local culture.

This comes along with a wave of retracting civil liberties, including a wiretapping law that establishes a surveillance centre to intercept communications and the Public Order Management Law, which restricts public protests (Daily Monitor, 23/2/2014). In May 2013 the government temporarily shut down the privately owned newspaper *The Daily Monitor*, after it published a letter that purported President Museveni was grooming his son to take his place in office.

The AHB offers devastating penal consequences to the Ugandan LGBTI community and undermines the fight against HIV. Access to healthcare and education for the LGBTI community is further weakened. The AHB risks increasing rates of HIV infection among the already marginalised community and the Ugandan population at large.<sup>21</sup> The AHB symbolises the influence and transformative stance of PCCs in Uganda as development actors. PCCs serve as a counter to the Western originating development complex of governmental bodies and NGOs, as well as the shifting dynamic of power within the East African community. Yet, the AHB threatens to undermine public health and human rights.

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<sup>21</sup> The AHB can create a need to hide divergent sexuality. This can result in those who privately identify as LGBTI engaging in heterosexual relationships to publicly perform as heterosexual, and thus increasing the number of sexual partners and heightening the possibility for contracting HIV.

### *Analytical Overview*

In light of these conceptual points of departure, I argue that the use of sexuality in church discourse has necessitated an engagement with time and tradition that selectively draws on the past to enable a nationalist project of transformation. Yet, for transformation to take place a moral citizenry must be established. This reveals tensions in governance and the negotiation of citizenship, and perpetuates the indistinct boundaries between the religious and political. The overarching argument is approached through two main assertions. Transformation occurs at two levels, first at the individual level and second at the national.

PCCs see themselves as development actors, and this role has contributed to the nationalist tone of church discourse. As agents of development churches aim to construct a cohesive national identity. From the perspective of PCCs disunity stands in the way of transformation. For transformation to take place everyone must participate. The nation is comprised of individuals, and individuals need to behave in a moral way to revitalise Uganda, and create conditions that are sufficient for Divine blessing.

Yet, the role of development actor includes a critique of the world beyond Uganda. PCCs have intervened because they perceive the Western development industry and local state endeavours to have failed. This is because those endeavours lacked the moral component necessary for transformation or progress to take place. Church perceptions of the failed state of the nation and development intervention are attributed to a lack of moral forthrightness within the Ugandan public, the external development industry and the outside world at large. For PCCs transformation will occur by infusing virtue into all societal spheres, enabling a national *rebirth* that mirrors the frame of individual conversion.

By appropriating the role of development actor, churches are able to offer a critique of what they perceive as the failed state of local morality, and the Western development industry. In PC discourse Ugandan progress has been stalled by

Western values. The way to overcome this state is by reasserting ‘good’ tradition and autonomy, and aligning the nation with God.

The nationalist narrative of development or transformation employed by PCCs defines who and what is extended Ugandan identity, an identity increasingly predicated on PC moral constructs. Developing the nation means defining its citizenry. The emphasis on transformation through moral intervention has resulted in a contracting definition of who is extended citizenship by the Ugandan state. This heightens the discursive and physical regulation of the public. Local churches work to position elements of their worldview as ‘traditional’ or ‘African’, illustrated in the frame of sexuality. Tradition legitimises the PC nationalist project of transformation, while authenticating PC Christianity, which itself has external origins.

PC narratives engage with tradition to delineate the ideal Ugandan citizen. Locating PC belief in local identity contests ‘outside’ interference. PCCs have transcended the state in the construction of the citizenry. Churches frame the way the past is remembered. They define and extend citizenship. This results in public policy initiatives and legislation to regulate the public through the internalisation of distinct moral subjectivities and with overt legislative means.

Divergent sexuality and disease serve as barriers towards national progress. They expose underlying sin—bodies outside of the bounds of moral behaviour—and undermine attempts towards national transformation. This necessitates identifying ‘deviant’ bodies to reform behaviour that conflicts with Pentecostal-Charismatic norms. The control of bodies is justified in narratives that encourage state autonomy and national progress. The church acts as disciplinarian, through the regulation and reformation of the public for the common good.

While Ugandan PC Christians are still a minority, Pentecostal discourse has profound political and social influence. PC views on homosexuality in the public sphere shape political rhetoric and legislative initiatives. While the Anglican and Catholic churches—the most historically relevant forms of Ugandan Christianity—

have remained relatively mute on the topic of homosexuality, the influence of PCCs is reflected in both religious majorities.

As Catholic and Anglican churches lose followers to Ugandan PCCs, some mainline churches have integrated popular PC forms and themes of worship in their own services. While Western spokesmen from the Catholic and Anglican churches have condemned the AHB, a representative from the Anglican Church of Uganda said the Bill would help curb “homosexual recruitment” in Uganda (Christian Post, 11/4/2014). The Catholic Bishop Father Charles Wamika called for Uganda to “free the land of gays” (Queer Times, 2/5/2014). Not only have Ugandan PCCs impacted the political climate, but also their social relevance shapes some of the mainline churches in Uganda as well.

### ***Thesis Structure***

The work is broken into nine main chapters, which offer a cohesive understanding of the Ugandan context, to enable in depth analysis and address how Pentecostal-Charismatic discourse in the public sphere reveals changes in the nature of political rhetoric, the negotiation of citizenship, and the boundaries between religion and governance.

Chapter II provides an overview of Christianity in Uganda, from the colonial period and the Baganda kingdom, to the rise of Pentecostal-Charismatic churches in the present day. The purpose of this chapter is to situate the movement historically, while offering an understanding of the origins of the local Pentecostal-Charismatic movement, exploring Christianity in Uganda highlights the frame of ‘moral deviations’—like articulations of non-normative sexuality—in the historical context, and the negotiation of such practices by the once dominant Anglican and Roman-Catholic churches. To understand how the *past* is reinscribed the *past* must be explored, situated, and contextualised. I assert that PCCs are distinctly political, therefore this chapter aims to understand the development of Christianity as a



comparative basis for the ways in which PCCs offer different imaginings of the nation.

Chapter II also brings to light the politicisation of Christianity, mapping the blurred boundaries between the religious and political spheres, while outlining the transformation of the relatively apolitical form of Pentecostal-Charismatic Christianity into its present manifestation. This chapter concludes with a brief exploration of the role of many churches in the HIV/AIDS epidemic. I explore HIV for two reasons. First the HIV epidemic marked the institutionalisation and politicisation of PCCs in Uganda, while validating moral intervention. Second HIV made sex and sexuality more acceptable topics for public debate.

Chapter III offers an overview of discursive constructions of homosexuality within the broader African and Ugandan contexts, which leads to more in depth analysis of the AHB. Understanding the frame of sexuality—and non-normative sexuality—and its entanglement with tradition and autonomy is necessary in considering the dominance that homosexuality assumes in the Ugandan public sphere.

Chapters IV through VII present my individual case studies. *Miracle Centre* is considered in Chapter IV, which examines the church's emphasis on glamour, globalism, and healing in order to understand their particular vision of transformation for Uganda, while establishing consistent themes in church discourse with the other examples under consideration. The inclusion of *Miracle Centre* is vital, not only because of its size, but due to the recent allegations of homosexuality lobbed at its influential pastor, Robert Kayanja. One of the accusers is the founding pastor of *One Love Church*. The consideration of both churches is significant as it demonstrates the fractures within the Ugandan PC community, helping to understand that while the movement exhibits constants in church-produced discourse, it is not altogether cohesive.

Consequently, Chapter V examines *One Love Church*. In contrast to *Miracle*, *One Love* has a small congregation of university students, and emphasises HIV

prevention and sexual purity. The example clearly articulates the consistent themes of nationalism, autonomy, and transformation through a particular emphasis on sexual purity and the rejection of Western moral degradation. Chapter VI presents *Watoto Church*, a large institutionalised church that offers pragmatism and planning, oriented towards the future to render contributing citizens through a clearly delineated blueprint of national transformation.

The last case study, *Covenant Nations Church (CNC)*, is addressed in Chapter VII. A small church, *CNC* has the most influential congregation. Founded by first daughter Patience Rwabwogo, the church most clearly synthesises elements of the previous three, while demonstrating the application of PC ideology within the political, as members of the congregation are the most clearly involved with the formation of state policy. Like the other churches, at *CNC* the aim is to develop the nation by protecting and developing God-fearing citizens who apply the principles of PC belief to all spheres of society.

Chapter VIII offers a comprehensive analysis of all four case studies. This chapter argues that PC discourse is a discourse of nationalism, imagining a singular moral community for the purpose of collective progress, to be achieved through regulation and the incorporation of time into dominant narratives of transformation. The PC conception of time is vital to rendering a desired future. PCCs critique and appropriate the past and regulate the present in an effort to forge a prosperous future. Additionally, to legitimise the nationalist undertaking, PC identity must be reconceived as a local identity. PC narratives that draw upon tradition—while not always positive—function in constructing an archetype of the Ugandan citizen. The churches under consideration act as a proxy for the state in the construction of national belonging by framing the way the past is remembered, defining and extending citizenship, drafting policy and legislation, and regulating the public by means of internalised subjectivities.

PC narratives concerning sexuality and disease further reinforce the frame of the good citizen by constructing a disciplined public. These narratives highlight how

church discourse aims to regulate behaviour to enable broader social transformation, while simultaneously demonstrating reasons behind the primacy of sexuality and health in both the church and national agenda. The regulation of the physical body through church discourse displays a Foucauldian frame of discipline, power, and governmentality in the formation of a responsible citizenry. The singular frame of morality as defined by PCCs inscribes the body with a spiritual meaning that must physically manifest, reinforced through an omnipresent gaze governing individual behaviour.

The final chapter outlines my work's contribution to scholarship on African PCC and offers concluding remarks. In a climate of contracting civil liberties what does the future hold for Ugandans who fail to conform to the ever-contracting moral standards set forth by PCCs? The social reality facing practicing homosexuals in Uganda with the AHB, along with the recent increase in rates of HIV/AIDS points to the necessity of this research. Pentecostal-Charismatic Churches are redefining the public sphere in Uganda and influence the political agenda of the nation. The religious sphere itself has been transformed with the ubiquitous rise of PCCs.

Yet, this extends beyond the religious and defines the nation itself. Morally informed discourse is determining political action, rendering public health initiatives and legislation regarding sexual rights, indicators of the influence PC Christianity holds on public opinion. My research considers the implications of discourse on public policy concerning HIV/AIDS and legislation regulating sexuality. Yet, public discourse has profound implications on the private realities of Ugandans, influencing interactions and prevention strategies with HIV/AIDS and sexuality. My work fills a gap in the current academic research on the role of faith on the postcolonial state in Africa. This work extends beyond Uganda. Pentecostal- Charismatic Christianity has spread across all of sub-Saharan Africa and impacts the public sphere (Gifford, 1998). Religion shapes the political and my work contributes to a greater understanding of those processes. Strengthening homophobic sentiment threatens the lives of Ugandans.

## CHAPTER II

### SITUATING THE UGANDAN PENTECOSTAL-CHARISMATIC MOVEMENT

#### A Historical Examination of Christianity from Pre-Colonial Contact to the Present Day

*“And I saw a new heaven and a new earth, for the first heaven and the first earth had passed away, and the sea was no more. And I saw the holy city, new Jerusalem, coming down from God out of heaven...And he that sat upon the throne said, ‘Behold, I make all things new.’  
And he said unto me, ‘Write for these words are true and faithful.’”*

*(Revelation 21:1-5)*

Understanding the Ugandan Pentecostal-Charismatic movement’s significance to politics, governance, and the negotiation of citizenship requires considering historical processes as much as the contemporary context. Ugandan PC Christianity is contingent on the history that shaped the movement. It is easy to interpret the case of sexuality in Uganda as a result of the contemporary context and the tensions that arise with processes of globalisation—between the ‘local’ and the ‘global’.

In the Ugandan public sphere homosexuality is coded as a Western export, divergent from local behaviour and norms. Conflicting discourses of human rights, LGBTI identity, and citizenship interact with ‘local’ understandings of sexuality, and the discordant frames of sexuality and citizenship generate sites of discursive tension [see Chapter III]. While in one respect legislation that restricts sexuality—like the AHB—can be read as the manifestation of tensions between discourses coded as ‘local’ and ‘global’, the AHB is equally a result of history.

Looking at contemporary transnational processes fails to explain the PC frame of sexuality, let alone the way churches engage with tradition and the past, and their discursive influence on governance and citizenship. While the nation is an ‘imagined community’—and PCCs help constitute political and collective imaginings of the nation and its citizens—“nations are not simply phantasmagoria of the mind, but are historical and institutional practices through which social difference is invented and

performed” (McClintock, 1993:61). The nationalist tendencies of Ugandan PC Christianity that impact public constructions of sexuality and citizenship are grounded in history. What are the historical processes that underpin the frame of PC discourse and sexuality in Uganda? In order to address this question this chapter explores the historical processes that contribute to the way that the Ugandan PC movement understands tradition and sexuality today.

While numerous historical factors have shaped the Ugandan PC movement, both within Uganda and globally, this chapter examines the main phenomena that contributed to the way the movement has manifested and interacts with sexuality, tradition and politics. I argue that the main trajectories for the movement’s nationalist articulation are found during the initial period of contact between the Buganda Kingdom with Christian missionaries and Arab traders. Within the Buganda monarchy the new religious forms of Christianity and Islam became politicised and *homosexuality* and tradition were intertwined with Christianity in national memory.

Two other relevant periods the chapter highlights are the period of colonialism when the Anglican Church of Uganda became politically prioritised over Catholicism, and the Anglican *balokole* revivalist movement. The Anglican Church is historically bound to the Ugandan state. This produced a religious and political divide in the public sphere and exacerbated the public perception of disunity, something PCCs promise to alleviate. *Balokole* or the East African Revival was a local Anglican revivalist movement that informs the PC movement. While PC Christianity is a relatively new phenomenon in the Ugandan context, PC discourse draws on *balokole* to gain historical relevance.

The independence period is then explored. Independence exacerbated perceptions of religious disunity that PCCs now promise to alleviate. This period also marked the introduction of early Pentecostal and eventually PC Churches. Yet, for PCCs a truly significant event was the HIV/AIDS epidemic. HIV provided two important conditions. First, HIV served to institutionalise PCCs in the development industry, and integrated them into the political sphere. This brought PCCs newfound political

and social influence. Second, HIV contributed to bringing sexuality into the public sphere as a topic for debate. The chapter is structured into four main sections. Beginning with Christian contact in the Buganda Kingdom, discussion turns to a brief consideration of the colonial and post-colonial period, the Anglican *balokole* revival, and concludes with the introduction of PCCs and the HIV epidemic.

### ***First Contact for a Christian Nation***

This section explores early Christian contact, and demonstrates how the use of ‘invented tradition’ by Christian communities is far from a new phenomenon in Uganda. Historically Ganda authorities have used Christianity as a vehicle to negotiate memory and tradition in order to strengthen political projects. The missionary and early colonial period in Buganda has influenced the PC movement, and is evident in the way PC discourse engages with tradition, memory, nationalism, and sexuality.

Second a historical view of Christianity in Uganda highlights the indistinct boundaries between the religious and the political spheres that began with early Christian missionaries and Arab traders. These two objectives are achieved with a linear look at the Buganda Monarchy, beginning with Muteesa I to his reputed homosexual heir Mwanga II, and concludes with the story of the Christian martyrs—pages who reputedly died for their faith by rejecting the homosexual advances of the king—to illustrate how the past is used in collective memory, and engages with sexuality, tradition, and current understandings of national identity.

The Buganda Kingdom—which accounts for a major portion of present-day Uganda in and around Kampala —was more secular in nature than the neighbouring centralised monarchies of the time, which serve as more unified examples of the interdependence between the religious and political spheres in the pre-colonial context.<sup>22</sup> While nearby kingdoms deified their monarchs, the Kabaka, or king,

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<sup>22</sup> I do not contend that the Buganda kingdom was a secular state, only that it was less dependent on ‘traditional’ religion than neighbouring kingdoms. This contributed to a more open environment for the new religious forms.

remained mortal, and the connection between the Baganda people and the divine was fluid.<sup>23</sup> The distinction between religious belief and the overall socio-political structure was more flexible. The secular nature of the Buganda kingdom allowed the Kabaka to explore exogenous faiths, like Islam and Christianity, without the ostensible risk of destabilising the state itself (Gifford, 1998:112).

Islam came first to Buganda, and by 1860 it began to take root. First introduced by Muslim traders and slavers, by the time the first Christian missionaries reached Buganda in 1877, Arab traders had been living at the court of Kabaka Muteesa I for over a decade. Muteesa himself came close to officially converting to Islam, if not for the arrival of British explorers (Hansen, 1984:12).

While the Kabaka welcomed outside visitors, his reception of foreign guests had more to do with securing and expanding his kingdom's future than religious curiosity. According to Hansen, "the function of foreigners was not only a religious one, nor even primarily so... the guns and ammunition the foreigners brought with them, and indirectly because by their presence an alliance was created with an Arab or European power" in the face of the growing threat of rival kingdoms and Egyptian expansion (Hansen, 1984:12).

The arrival of Speke and Grant in 1862, followed by Stanley in 1874 brought Christianity to the region, and reduced the influence of Islam (Gifford, 1998:112). Following Stanley's arrival Muteesa expressed an interest in Christianity. Upon the Kabaka's request Stanley wrote a transformative letter, published in the *Daily Telegraph* in 1875, calling for missionaries to evangelise the Buganda Kingdom:

I have indeed undermined Islamism so much here that Mtesa [*sic*] has determined henceforth, until he is better informed, to observe the Christian Sabbath as well as the Muslim Sabbath...He has further caused the ten commandments of Moses to be written on a board for his daily perusal...as well as the Lord's Prayer and the golden commandment of our Saviour...But oh! That some pious, practical missionary would come here! What a field and harvest ripe for the

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<sup>23</sup> Kabaka translates to king in Luganda; Baganda refers to the people of the Buganda kingdom.

sickle of civilisation...It is not the mere preacher, however, that is wanted here. The bishops of Great Britain collected, with all the classic youth of Oxford and Cambridge, would affect nothing by mere talk with the intelligent people of Uganda. It is the practical Christian tutor, who can teach people how to become Christians, cure their diseases, construct dwellings, understand and exemplify agriculture...this is the man who is wanted. Such one, if he can be found, would become the saviour of Africa...Now where is there in all the pagan world a more promising field for a mission than Uganda? Here gentlemen is your opportunity—embrace it! (Stanley quoted in Byaruhanga, 2008:53).

The call was embraced. First by the London-based Church Missionary Society (CMS) in 1877, which brought the Anglican Church and enforced British authority in the region.<sup>24</sup> In 1878 Alexander Mackay established the Church Missionary Society mission in Buganda's capital, Rubaga (Hoad, 2007:1).<sup>25</sup> A year later French missionaries known as the Société de Notre-Dame d'Afrique, or the White Fathers, followed with Catholicism (Hansen, 1984:12). By 1882 the first Roman Catholic converts were baptised in Buganda (Hoad, 2007:1).

Initial hopes of European political support and munitions failed to materialise (Hansen, 1984:13). Yet, Muteesa allowed the missionaries to remain at court. Religion became a dynamic subject as three new theological perspectives—Islam, Protestantism, and Catholicism—were represented. The Kabaka encouraged his pages to 'read' with the Christian missionaries and Muslim traders. Slowly "each of them won a stock of adherents among the so-called young pages, who underwent training at the court in the hope of winning the favour of the Kabaka and later being able to gain an influential position within the Buganda system" (*ibid*). However, tensions surfaced when Islamic converts demonstrated signs of insubordination, which prompted Muteesa to carry out widespread "purges" or executions (*ibid*).

Throughout his reign Muteesa suffered from chronic gonorrhoea. His deteriorating health undermined his role as a secular leader, and the problems facing Buganda

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<sup>24</sup> The CMS, founded as the Society for Missions to Africa and the East, was an evangelical society that brought together factions of the Anglican church. Its founding members were evangelical activists who pushed the principles of abolishing the slave trade and social reform. They were instrumental in the 'Great Awakening' and the formation of the Methodist Church under John Wesley.

<sup>25</sup> Rubaga—now Lubaga—is part of present-day Kampala, and is home to *Miracle Centre Cathedral*.



increased (Brierley & Spear, 1988:610). While Speke and Stanley memorialised Muteesa's reign as the Ganda golden age, great crises persisted throughout the period. The plague, smallpox, cholera, typhoid and yellow fever outbreaks were pervasive, and those afflicted with smallpox were documented praying to the disease to 'appease' its destruction (Brierley & Spear, 1988:608). Simultaneously Buganda suffered a slew of military defeats from neighbouring kingdoms. This was coupled with extensive drought and subsequent famine (*ibid*). According to Brierley and Spear, with the "seemingly never-ending succession of blows the people looked to Kabaka Muteesa for salvation since he, and he alone, had 'eaten the country' and become one with it" (Brierley & Spear, 1988:610).<sup>26</sup>

As newly formed religious factions began to emerge within the court growing fractures between the Kabaka and regional chiefs, known as the *Bakungu*, became evident. Within the Buganda court the Kabaka alone:

Appointed the majority of territorial chiefs and sub-chiefs; he personally received taxes, tribute, and plunder and redistributed them to his favorites; he controlled the armies that enforced tribute and the...labor that maintained both the roads and knit Buganda together...As factions formed and reformed, competing with one another for power and influence, the Kabaka alone could balance the political forces that threatened to rend the kingdom asunder...with the kingdom inexplicably weakened and the center slowly deteriorating, Muteesa struggled to find a cure for his and his country's maladies from among the competing religious authorities in his court, leaving no doubt either in his mind or in theirs of their main role as religious healers [of the land] (Brierley & Spear, 1988:610).

The growing presence of Islamic and Christian converts offered an alternative source of authority to the traditional *Bakungu* chiefs, who derived much of their power from adherents of traditional religious practice. According to Hansen, "a sort of dual system was coming into being, and the Kabaka was using the new religions and their

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<sup>26</sup> The reference to 'eating the country' is taken from R.P. Ashe's (1889) missionary account of the Buganda Kingdom. The metaphor is used to describe the ascension of the Kabaka. Upon succession the future king is said to 'eat' the drum (which represents the highest office), thereby representing the nation while irrevocably linking the Kabaka to national well-being.

social manifestations as a means of restructuring the relations of power in the Buganda polity” (Hansen, 1984:13).

As the Kabaka’s health continued to deteriorate, he appealed to the Christian and Muslim missionaries as well as his own traditional healers. Traditional healers were called from the Ssesse Islands who “recommended human sacrificial rites (*kiwendo*) to propitiate the gods and to replenish the Kabaka’s (and thereby Buganda’s) vigor” (Brierley & Spear, 1988:610). Muslims and Christians offered prayer and European medicine, but the Kabaka’s health continued to deteriorate. Muteesa’s worsening condition was especially significant since he represented the strength of the kingdom. His failing health joined with the public health epidemics, military devastations, and the instability of new religious forms. This worked to convey the dwindling ‘health’ of Buganda as a whole, undermining the supremacy of not just Muteesa as Kabaka, but the role of the Kabaka itself.

For the next four years the Kabaka called upon various religious authorities as his health waned, oscillating between massive *kiwendo* sacrifices, and the alternatives offered by Christians and Muslims. During the uncertainty of this period each faith gained and subsequently lost political prominence within the court. At one point Islam was declared the official state religion only to have the Kabaka call for the observation of the Christian Sabbath soon after (Faupel, 1984:49-50).

As the Kabaka became increasingly erratic, virtually imprisoning the Catholic and Protestant missionaries at court for failing to cure him, the Catholic White Fathers fled Buganda leaving behind nearly two hundred converts (Brierley & Spear, 1988:611). The Protestant CMS’s presence was made more tenuous by advancing Arab troops in neighbouring Sudan, which cut off the English missionaries from their British allies (Faupel, 1984:57).

In October 1884 Muteesa I died and for the first time in Ganda society a *kiwendo*—or a mass human slaughter—was not performed because of the political upheaval, leaving the traditional gods unappeased. For Brierley and Spear the absence of the

traditional practice is attributed to the failure of Kiganda religion “to render order out of the chaos that had threatened the country” (Brierley & Spear, 1988:612). Meanwhile Islam and the Protestant and Catholic followings were growing.

After Muteesa’s death, his son Mwanga II became king. Initially Mwanga was untroubled by the new religions, since they remained marginal they failed to challenge his authority (Hansen, 1984:13). Yet, the new religions ultimately challenged Mwanga’s short-lived rule. Even before he ascended to the throne the remaining missionaries’ impressions of Mwanga proved less than favourable. The future Anglican Archdeacon of Uganda, Robert Henry Walker, described him as “a young and frivolous sort of man, very weak and easily led; passionate and, if provoked, petulant. He looked as if he would be easily frightened, and possessed very little courage or self-control” (Walker quoted in Faupel, 1984:82).

Walker was not alone in his view of Mwanga. Ashe’s (1889) missionary account meticulously details the new Kabaka’s penchant for torture. While Mwanga’s immoral behaviour “shocked even the pagans whose standards of morality were far from high” (Faupel, 1984:82). Yet, his ‘immoral behaviour’ was not limited to torture. Ashe makes veiled reference to Mwanga’s “unnatural desires” or homosexuality (Hoad, 2007:1).

In order to solidify his authority Mwanga appealed for support to the *Batongole*, the sub-chiefs under the *Bakungu* system. The *Batongole* were composed of young new religious converts. To consolidate his power Mwanga established armed troops under his direct control, and all three new religious groups were represented at the highest levels of command (Hansen, 1984:13). Yet, this worked to concentrate both arms and land among the newly converted. Religious divisions became more political and identifiable within the public sphere. The traditional *Bakungu* hierarchy began to function within the scope of the new religious formations, effectively destabilising the traditional structure.

The new religious groups ascended to political influence in just under three decades since Muteesa initially encouraged the young male pages to ‘read’ religious texts with the first Muslim traders (Brierley & Spear, 1988:601). Ten years had elapsed from the time the Protestants and Catholics arrived at court and began ‘reading’ with the young Baganda pages (*ibid*). The increasing political prominence of new religions, in conjunction with the external threat of European powers for command over African territory, was made palpable as the Kabaka sought to solidify his own dwindling authority. No longer acting as ‘religious representatives’ alone, Arab traders and Europeans missionaries held a political role and served as ambassadors of their respective nations (Hansen, 1984:14). Mwanga and the *Bakungu* chiefs began to call the loyalty of the local Christian and Islamic converts into question.

While estimates vary, between 1885 and 1887, the Buganda authorities executed roughly two-hundred Christian converts, paralleling the ‘purges’ conducted by his father two years prior (Kassimir, 1991:359). The majority of those executed were the young male pages that served at the royal court (*ibid*). In Ugandan collective memory the executed pages became known as the martyrs, and twenty-two were later canonised in Rome (Kassimir, 1991:365). The exact motivations behind the executions remain a subject of speculation. However, the prevailing narrative, circulating in Catholic communities and the collective Ugandan imagination, suggests that the martyrs were casualties of religious persecution. Dying for their faith, the young men were executed because they spurned the sexual advances of a morally depraved king.

Although hundreds of Christians were killed, many others were appointed to positions of power and were later responsible for Mwanga’s eventual overthrow (Brierley & Spear, 1998:602). In contrast to the conventional narrative promoted by Ugandan Catholics, the execution of the Christians was not a part of a comprehensive strategy to eradicate Christianity in Buganda. On the contrary, Mwanga relied on the *Batongole*—many of whom were Christian—for political support (Ward, 1991:np). Nevertheless “the blood of the martyrs” not only became the “seed of the church” but of the nation itself (*ibid*).

On one hand the executions reflect contested religious and political authority. Yet, sexuality is central in the memory of the Ugandan martyrs. Academic work (Thoonen, 1941; Faupel, 1984; Hoad, 2007; Hamilton, 2010; Blevins, 2012) highlights the more contentious argument surrounding issues of sexuality. Numerous accounts, for example Ward (1991) and Oliphant Old (2010), attribute the execution of the pages to their conversion to Christianity, as the pages' new religious beliefs forbade them from homosexuality.

Initially Mwanga demanded that the pages renounce their faith. Those who refused were burned alive, and the three new religious factions united in opposition to the king and seized control (Hoad, 2007:2). For British missionaries, Mwanga's sexuality served as a justification for colonial intervention (*ibid*). Following the execution of the pages, Stanley wrote to the *C.M. Intelligencer* in 1890, "the more I heard the story of Zachariah and Samuel and the others, looking at their cleanly faces, hearing them tell the story of how they endured the persecutions of Mwanga, I was carried back to the days of Nero and Caligula, how they persecuted the Christians at Rome" (Stanley quoted in Hoad, 1997:12).

The reference to Nero and Caligula invokes not only the sexual 'depravity' and excess of ancient Rome, but also the persecution of Christians at the early stage of Christian development. This frame suggests a teleological progression to Christian development—hence human development—in Uganda, a natural progression that reinforces Christianity as a 'natural' state (Hoad, 1997:12).<sup>27</sup>

Initially European missionaries used Mwanga's reputed homosexuality as a means to justify the colonial presence and eventually the British claim to the Buganda kingdom. According to Blevins, "[f]or the British missionaries and colonizers who were in east-central Africa from the late 1800s until Ugandan independence in 1962, the story was an example of the savagery of pre-colonial, pre-Christian Africa" (Blevins, 2012:53). Christian, particularly Catholic, Ugandans have appropriated the story and align Christianity, African identity, and sexuality through the martyrs. Yet,

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<sup>27</sup> Parallel narratives are employed by the PC community, especially its engagement with tradition, and will be explored in depth in Chapter VIII.

public perceptions of the martyrs differ. For example some members of the Buganda community frame the martyrs less favourably, and use the story to illustrate disloyalty. The executed pages are interpreted as locals who betrayed their own people to side with the foreigners who promised them “a place in heaven” (Blevins, 2012:62).

Yet, overall in the Ugandan Catholic, Anglican, and PC communities, accounts of the martyrs are relatively unified. For PC Christians the memory of the martyrs illustrates PC discourse’s ability to reframe the past, by calling into question the authenticity of Mwanga’s own ‘African-ness’ due to his reputed homosexuality. As PCCs consider Africans to be normatively *heterosexual*, his alleged practice of *homosexuality* delegitimises Mwanga’s association with authentic African identity. This blends into the frame of ‘tradition’. If ‘Africans are not gay’ then Mwanga, and subsequently Buganda, are delegitimised as bearers of authentic culture or African identity.

The ability of Christianity to replace ‘tradition’ is initially illustrated in Catholic representations of the Martyrs:

While we rightly rejoice in the human qualities of the Martyrs, we are equally proud to recognise in them our ancestors in the faith. For us Africans, the dead, those who have gone before us, have a special part to play in our lives. In our devotion to the Martyrs, we see this traditional belief of ours taken up and purified, so that we can truly say that it is from their blood that we have been born anew in the faith (Catholic Bishops of Uganda quoted in Blevins, 2012: 54-55).

The statement, taken from the letter, ‘Celebrating our Ancestors in the Faith’, highlights the use of memory to align the ancestral past with a distinctly Christian past, unifying local identity and tradition with Christianity. According to Blevins, the letter refutes “the idea that African cultures were inherently primitive, savage and marked by vices such as sodomy...[and] explicitly connects pre-colonial Africa culture to the faithfulness of the Christian martyrs themselves” (Blevins, 2012:54).

The rewriting of tradition is not isolated to Catholicism. In a 2005 column for the *New Vision* PC Pastor Martin Ssempe [see Chapter V] uses the story of the martyrs. Ssempe states:

How do Christians respond to state-sanctioned homosexuality in light of its apparent contradictions with culture, faith and nature?...Mwanga's homosexuality is an issue we tip-toed about for fear of offending the Buganda monarchy...all historical accounts of the martyrs agree that Mwanga was a deviant homosexual who used his demigod status to appease his voracious appetite for sodomy...in the 1880s Charles Lwanga and his companions had met their brutal deaths, burnt and speared to death, at the hands of Mwanga, head of the Buganda state. Their only offence was to practice the Christian faith and refuse to take part in the homosexual activities of the court...Any faith that opposes the man who uses state machinery to 'ram same sex agenda down our throats' will not escape the fire. We need a united front of the major faiths (Ssempe quoted in *New Vision*, 2/6/2005).

Ssempe's statement further highlights the use of the martyrs, while distancing Bugandan identity from authentic local identity, which is framed as Christian. At the same time it contextualises the martyrs in the present by calling on Ugandans to refuse externally and locally sanctioned homosexuality, in appeals for unity. Unity is integral in the PC agenda, and necessitates the construction of an overarching Ugandan identity to negotiate the 'sectarianism' churches fear will undermine the project of nation building and progress. PC discourse aims to colonise, but rather than asking its adherents to forget the ways of the past, it engages with the past by reframing the nature of 'tradition' or 'local' altogether.

In the way Ugandan Christian communities remember the martyrs, we see the alignment of African sexuality as heteronormative. African, homosexuality, and masculinity are not neutral descriptors. When brought together the terms perform an ideological function. According to Hoad:

The events of 1886 may allow us to see what happens when bodily practices get recoded as ‘sex’ and how representing these recoded bodily practices plays a role in assigning meaning to cultural and racial difference...[as] sexual subtexts in narrations of national, religious, and racial authenticity at the cusp of formal European colonization [are omnipresent]. The events can be used to concretize how, in certain historical moments, certain corporeal practices come to be represented as sexual, and move into identitarian sexuality, as their meanings are transfigured under new discursive regimes (Hoad, 2007:2).

At the same time in colonial accounts, like the work of Sir H.H. Johnstone, sexuality intersects with race prominently. As Johnstone said, “perhaps [Mwanga] might still have been king had not his vicious propensities taken a turn which disgusted *even* his negro people, and made them fear that his precept and example spreading widely among his imitative subjects might result in the disappearance in of the Uganda race” (Johnstone, 1904:216).<sup>28</sup> Accounts like Johnstone’s infantilise Africans and suggest inherent immorality.

The Ganda people were in danger of learning ‘corrupt’ practices from Mwanga. The British saw themselves as ‘protecting’ the Ganda from the corrupt teachings of Islamic—and homosexual—Arab traders. During the colonial period, British depictions of African homosexuality “encourages the depiction of the African as a depraved degenerate in need of instruction or a noble savage in need of protection” (Hoad, 2007:5).

Reflecting Fanon’s (1967) dialectic, colonial narratives regarding African sexuality have in some ways become internalised in PC discourse.<sup>29</sup> This is evident in church discourse that suggests Ugandans have “uncontrollable sexual urges” that can only be repressed with Divine intervention (One Love Participant Observation, December 2011). While these themes will be unpacked in greater depth in following chapters, the introduction of narratives by colonial authorities and missionaries of African

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<sup>28</sup> Emphasis added.

<sup>29</sup> Fanon’s (1967) dialectic reworks Hegel’s (1807) master-slave dynamic on recognition and subjectivity, with race in the colonial context. For Fanon the colonised subject internalises the way the coloniser perceives him, and strives to be ‘like’ the coloniser. In this dynamic the colonised interprets himself through the subjectivity of the coloniser.



perversion and innocence are instrumental in understanding the way the body, sexuality, and health are understood today [see Chapters IV-VIII]. What is said and what is not said in early accounts of Ganda society parallel the discourse surrounding what constitutes an ‘authentic African’ now.

For Ranger (1983) colonial intervention marked the “invention of traditions” that often bore no resemblance to actual indigenous practices or classifications. Traditional African sexuality is heterosexual. While Europeans brought along their own customs, colonial authorities rigidly categorised ‘traditional’ practices—like customary law, religion, and ethnic classifications—that local communities perceived more fluidly. By transforming fluid practices into rigid tradition, British authorities went about “inventing African tradition for Africans” (Ranger, 1983:212). This is reflected in the frame of African sexuality [see Chapter III].

According to Ward, “whatever the original motivation of the missionaries, the traumatic events of 1885 and 1886 convinced many of them that foreign intervention might be the only long-term solution to safeguard the future of Christianity in Buganda” (Ward, 1991:np). The support Mwanga initially found with the *Batongole* was dwindling, as the sub-chiefs gathered arms and created what amounted to their own standing army (*ibid*). By 1888 the polarized Catholics, Protestants, and Muslims joined together and overthrew Mwanga, who sought refuge with the White Fathers in Bukumbi, Tanzania.

Yet, the alliance quickly collapsed. The Muslims staged a pre-emptive coup and instated their own Kabaka, Sheikh Kalema, proclaiming Buganda a Muslim state. However, by 1890 the Christians had indisputably ‘taken control’ of Buganda, with the assistance of Capitan Lugard and the Imperial British East Africa Company (IBEAC), and reinstated Mwanga as Kabaka. But Mwanga relinquished the better part of his sovereignty to the IBEAC in exchange for his throne. As a result Christianity increasingly informed both regional politics and religion. However, the Catholics were unhappy with the favour the Protestant Church was awarded by the IBEAC and Lugard.

Outright war broke out between the Catholics and Protestants in 1892, with the Protestants victorious. Yet, “Lugard, the real arbiter of the situation, insisted that both Catholics and Muslims be given some small share in the political life of the country” (Ward, 1991:np). By 1892 the IBEAC was financially unstable, and the CMS appealed to Britain to guarantee guardianship over Uganda. Britain declared the British Protectorate of Uganda in 1894, and the sovereignty that the Kabaka transferred to the IBEAC was now conveyed to the crown (*ibid*). Accordingly, “company rule was replaced by direct British rule...and the new masters set out to organize the colonial state...it became important within the new British Protectorate to define the role of the African polities” which had experienced significant change already with the introduction of Islam and Christianity (Hansen, 1986:56).

Mwanga attempted a short-lived rebellion against the British in 1897 and was once again deposed and exiled to the Seychelles where he was “baptized as a Protestant: a recognition that the forces of Christianity and imperialism had triumphed” (Hansen, 1986:56). The Buganda Agreement of 1900 defined the boundaries of the Buganda kingdom, while further shifting power from the Kabakaship to the chiefdom hierarchy (Hansen, 1986:57). British authority consolidated power under a Protestant oligarchy, and the infant Daudi Chwa was made Kabaka, with two Protestant and one Catholic regional chiefs acting as regents (Twaddle, 1969:310).

By 1919 the British had control over the entire region of present-day Uganda (Gifford, 1998:113). Thus the foundation for the dominance of Christianity and the Anglican Church was set for the duration of the colonial period. The way in which British colonial authority entered Buganda—through a centralized kingdom rather than disconnected and acephalous communities—allowed Christianity to gain social and political prominence quickly (Twaddle, 1969:309).

Protestantism laid claim on the Buganda kingdom and proved a vital and advantageous system of belief to marry tradition with modernity. Before colonisation the death of the Kabaka marked a process whereby Ganda political practices were re-established with the new king’s ascendance to the throne (Kodesh, 2001:512). For

Kodesh, “once installed, the new Kabaka and his supporters faced the challenge of connecting a contentious past with an uncertain present...[but] Christianity emerged as the idiom through which the new Ganda leaders could claim simultaneously to be the heirs of Ganda tradition and of colonial modernity” (*ibid*). Protestantism was not only dominant among the Ganda but became entrenched with the colonial and postcolonial Ugandan state.

### ***The Colonial & Post-Colonial Period***

The religious duopoly of the Anglican and Catholic Church resulted in sectarian politics during the colonial and post-colonial period. The legacy of sectarianism that arose from the colonial legacy is a problem the PCC promises to alleviate by creating a more homogenous, collective Ugandan identity. This section explores the political and social divisions created by the Catholic and Anglican churches in the colonial and postcolonial periods.

During the colonial and postcolonial periods Catholics constituted the majority of the Ugandan population (Barrett, 1982). Yet, the Catholic Church was politically subordinate to the Anglican, which comprised the majority of the political elite. The Kabaka as well as the chiefs and state authorities were Anglican (Ward, 2005:101). The Anglican Church was firmly aligned with the state. Anglican elites excluded the Catholic majority and Muslim and traditionalist minorities from exercising political authority (Hansen, 1984:29-35). Yet, both the Catholic and Anglican Church exercised tremendous spiritual authority through mission schools. As “all education was in their hands; only in the 1950s did the administration decide to open its own schools. Here again, the two separate and competing school systems reinforced the divide between Catholics and Anglicans” (Gifford, 1998:113).

In 1953 the exile of Kabaka Muteesa II created friction between the Ganda, the Anglican Church, and the colonial state. While traditional Ganda authorities feared independence would compromise their authority, the Governor of Uganda exiled the king in the hope the Baganda would select a leader who was more amenable to the

independence movement (Ward, 2005:111). However, the move backfired. Traditionalists and nationalists united with the Ganda to oppose the British, and the Anglican Church came under heavy scrutiny for its support of the colonial government.

The Kabaka's exile did ultimately expedite independence and the Anglican monopoly over the state continued. For both the Catholic and Anglican churches, "Christianity was seen to be at the heart of nationhood" (Ward, 2005:108-109). In Uganda the construction of a national identity, and nationalism in general, have proved ethnically and religiously parochial (Apter, 1997). While Anglican identity was conflated with national identity, Catholicism maintained more distinct boundaries between national and spiritual identity (Ward, 2005:109). The Catholic Church hoped to reverse its political position with independence, but Catholic aspirations for political authority proved unrealised.

Religious factionalism was apparent in the independence movement. The first nationalist party—the Uganda National Congress—founded in 1952 was formed in an effort to promote Catholic interests in the transition from colonial to national rule (Gifford, 1998:114). The Baganda, with strong allegiances to the Anglican Church, formed the *Kabaka Yekka* party which aimed to secure a separate Buganda state.

The Uganda Peoples Congress (UPC) led by Milton Obote—an Anglican—became the predominant nationalist party and was opposed by the Catholic majority who viewed the UPC as a leftist Protestant movement (Apter, 1997). The Catholic Democratic Party (DP) feared UPC control would perpetuate Anglican political authority (Bade, 1996). According to Ward, "on the eve of independence in 1962, Uganda seemed to be entrenched in sectarian politics. When the UPC took control...[it] created a volatile political life for independent Uganda" (Ward, 2005:112).

While Obote attempted to create a secular political sphere, deep-rooted religious loyalties—including his own—made attempts to disengage religion from politics

impossible (Ward, 2005:112). Obote alienated himself from his Ganda Protestant base by expelling another Kabaka and abolishing the monarchy (Twesigye, 2010:136). The public unrest towards Obote led to public support of Idi Amin's 1971 coup. Catholic and Anglicans initially welcomed Amin, a Muslim, but his erratic behaviour soon targeted the religious communities (Twesigye, 2010:134). Under Amin numerous Catholic and Anglican religious leaders were assassinated, including the Anglican Archbishop Janani Luwum (Twesigye, 2012:148).

The power of the Anglican and Catholic Churches in Uganda challenged Amin's authority. While outlawing the Anglican and Catholic traditions proved impossible, the smaller evangelical churches that had begun to emerge were still marginal enough to prohibit. Amin prohibited marginal Christian movements from Uganda and deported Western missionaries, leaving only Islam and the Catholic and Anglican churches (Gifford, 1998:116). Yet, for the Anglican and Catholic Churches the Amin years solidified their moral authority (Ward, 2005:115). In the years that followed Amin's overthrow, sectarianism along Anglican and Catholic lines continued to constitute Ugandan politics.

When Museveni came to power in 1986, a central platform of his party, the National Resistance Movement (NRM), pledged to put an end to the sectarian politics that shaped the public landscape. While the NRM initially dismissed religion, Museveni came to recognise that the Anglican and Catholic churches could not be discounted. However, "Museveni has had notable success in taking religion out of politics, and politics out of religion" (Ward, 2005:115). From independence, constitutional mandates guaranteed religious freedom. The Ugandan Constitution explicitly states that the nation "shall not adopt a state religion" (Ugandan Constitution, 1995:29). Yet, the state and religion—namely Christianity—have proved intertwined.

The Anglican Church is inextricable from the Ugandan political sphere. However, Ugandan Anglicanism is not without its own internal fractures. The East African Revivalist movement, known as *balokole*, was vital in the formation of Ugandan Anglicanism and the contemporary PC movement.

### ***Balokole: The East African Revival***

In many ways the Anglican *balokole* movement of the 1930s laid the foundation for Pentecostal-Charismatic Christianity in East Africa. Originating in Rwanda, East African Pentecostalism is partially rooted in the *balokole* or ‘saved ones’ (Kalu, 2008:94). *Balokole* sparked a revivalist initiative within the Anglican Church of Uganda. The movement denounced the laxity of the Anglican Church towards individuals who incorporated indigenous religious practice into their belief system and equally rebuked modernist initiatives to ‘update’ theological belief (*ibid*). This section explores the *balokole* movement in an effort to demonstrate the parallels in PC Christianity and understand the appropriation of *balokole* by PCCs as a means of historicising their own movement.

The *balokole* revivalists positioned themselves as the true “‘guardians’ of the authentic traditions of Ganda Protestantism, a faithful remnant in a nation of nominal Christians” (Robbins quoted in Shaw, 2010:98). In one respect the *balokole* believed that the Anglican Church of Uganda was disloyal to their Christian ancestors, who paid the ultimate price for their faith, typified with the death of Ugandan martyrs. For the *balokole* the new generation were using their Anglican faith to gain social and political prominence (Shaw, 2010:97).

The main tenets of the revival included a commitment to the church, individual salvation through Christ, self-awareness of sin and testimony, the incorporation of women and the shunning of politics (Ward, 1991:np). Yet, the movement proved political, and independence movements throughout East Africa drew upon the revival for support. The principles of *balokole* are heavily intertwined with Pentecostal-Charismatic Christianity. As a result some scholars (Kalu, 2008; Peterson, 2012) credit it with the revival for Pentecostalism’s spread throughout East Africa.

The history of the revival is also a history of the Anglican Church in the region. With Uganda under British control, Christianity flourished, and the influence of Islam diminished as “Christianity came to dominate the political arena of Buganda; and

Islam was relegated to an underprivileged minority” (Ward, 1991:np). The Christian chiefs retained elements of Buganda tradition through a unique hybrid of Buganda Christianity. The two fundamental pillars of Buganda—the Kabakaship and the clans—now stood among a third pillar, Christianity (*ibid*). In this way, the Buganda became ‘sub-imperialists’ gaining territory and influence from their advantageous relationship with the British, at the expense of the newly colonised neighbouring territories (*ibid*). One of the main contributors of Ganda ‘sub-imperialism’ was the missionary work performed Baganda evangelists that further spread Ganda influence.

The first African Christians “converted by European missionaries were few, often limited to those drawn to the mission stations, but they soon became an expanding corps of catechists, teachers and evangelists themselves” preaching the Gospel with vernacular Bibles (Spear, 1999:7). In the wake of the ‘Christian Revolution’ in Buganda, the African Anglican church, became the state church throughout the majority of Uganda (Spear, 1999:12).

Ganda Protestants evangelised much of Uganda after the Bible was translated into Luganda (Mojola, 2000:531). Yet, animosity was building against the Ganda. Evangelists exclusive use of the Luganda Bible and Ganda sub-imperialism maintained their hegemonic authority at the expense of other indigenous communities (Spear, 1999:12). In response alternative local churches began to grow among the more marginalised groups.

While the Native Anglican Church in Uganda was one of the most powerful missions in all of sub-Saharan Africa, weaknesses began to emerge in the 1920s in Buganda. Anglicanism had multiplied in terms of numbers, yet many felt it was “at the expense of real faith and genuine commitment to a distinctive Christian life” (Ward, 1991:np). While the seeds of the movement grew out of the African Anglican Church of Uganda, it was the events that occurred in the Belgian territory of Ruanda-Urundi that firmly established the revival and returned it to Uganda.

The most vocal critics of the Anglican Church came from the CMS in south western Uganda and Ruanda-Urundi, which functioned as a separate entity within the Anglican diocese of Uganda. The Ruanda mission was established in the 1920s, and while it was an indirect extension of the CMS of the Church of Uganda, the CMS of Ruanda-Urundi presented a conservative evangelical viewpoint in contrast with what they saw as the ‘compromised’ view of the Anglican Church of Uganda.

The architects of the revival saw a real need for reform and viewed the Church of Uganda to compromise the tenets of Christianity. Simeoni Nsibambi—the ‘father’ of the revival—came from a family of the select Baganda Protestant chiefs who benefited from the consolidation of power introduced with the Buganda Agreement of 1900, the document that defined the borders of the Buganda Kingdom (Ward, 2012:192). Educated in Anglican schools, Nsibambi served in the Kabaka’s administration. Yet, his life changed course when he experienced a profound religious experience. As a result Nsibambi devoted himself to “preaching this message of repentance and salvation. He abandoned his job to become a full-time (self-appointed) preacher” (Ward, 1991:np).

In 1929 Nsibambi met Dr Joe Church, a British missionary physician and member of the CMS who was working in the Ruanda Mission. Church was greatly disillusioned by his own missionary work (Ward, 2012:3). Yet, he felt a renewed vigour after meeting Nsibambi. By 1935 Church led a team of revivalists to a convention in Kabale, Uganda, marking the first broad-scale influence of the revival on Uganda. There they encouraged “confession of sin, restitution...many had dreams, sometimes receiving strong impressions to read certain verses of the Bible which led them to put away some sin...preaching bands have gone out all through the district and very many are stirred” (The Fifth Kabale Convention Pamphlet quoted in Ward, 1991:np).

As a result of the conference, some of the *balokole* went to Kampala to appeal to the Church of Uganda to ‘awaken’ (Ward, 2012:22). The Bishop of Uganda, Cyril Stuart, felt great sympathy for the movement and invited Dr Church to participate in



the Anglican Diamond Jubilee in 1937. While not well received by many of the administration, the mission was influential among the student teachers.

The Jubilee failed to produce the large-scale revival they were hoping for, but Stuart remained supportive of the revivalists (Farrimond, 2012:90). Yet, the movement lost momentum in 1941 when a team of revivalists training at the Anglican Mukono mission stood against the liberal theological teachings of Warden Jones, leading an aggressive campaign publicly preaching “against the evils of sin, theft and immorality, which they discovered in the college” (Ward, 1991:np). As a means to contain the revivalists, Jones forbade them from meeting and preaching, which the revivalists took as an attempt to wipe out the movement. Eventually the *balokole* students were dismissed from the college.

Another blow to the movement came in 1941 at a meeting of *balokole* missionaries. The revivalists issued a memorandum denouncing the expulsion of the students, while stating “the modernist view minimizes sin, and the substitutionary death of Christ on the Cross, and mocks at the ideal of separation from the world to a holy and victorious life” (Shaw, 2010:100). The statement reveals the movement’s stance on modernity, while denouncing the incorporation of indigenous tradition by the Anglican Church. This declaration placed Bishop Stuart in a compromising position, as the revivalists’ unyielding stand jeopardized the movement within the Church.

In the 1940s and 1950s the movement experienced its own ‘revival’, with the rise of the *Bazukufu* or ‘reawakened’. By this time the *balokole* were a recognized faction within the Anglican Church, and some of the revivalists felt the movement had compromised its original message and was now charged with the same permissiveness as the mainline Anglican Church of the 1920s and 1930s. According to Gifford, the *balokole* were accused of the same “perceived laxity of the saved” (Gifford, 1998:152).

By mid-century, numerous followers of *balokole* began charismatic healing ministries throughout the region, particularly the erroneously self-proclaimed ‘father’

of the Pentecostal movement in Uganda, Simeon Kayiwa. In 1977, Kayiwa began the Namirembe Christian Fellowship (NCF), a healing ministry that later claimed to cure 30 HIV-positive followers by the 1990s. The British publication *Miracles and the Extraordinary* further propagated claims of both Kayiwa's ability and significance, crediting him with the establishment of over 2,000 churches with two-million members (Kalu, 2008:96). While Kayiwa historically played a sizeable role in Ugandan PC Christianity, such claims are exaggerated.

*Balokole* was divisive within the missionary community, and while many initially yearned for revival they also opposed the way it was expressed. Yet, *balokole* remained Anglican, and eventually with the continued moderation of Bishop Stuart established a symbiotic presence within the Anglican Church of Uganda. The impact of the movement was significant, and *balokole* maintained relative momentum until the 1970s and 1980s. During this time the Pentecostal-Charismatic church began to take root throughout Uganda, promoting parallel tenets to *balokole* with the same evangelical fervour. By the 1980s *balokole* had lost momentum and was largely surpassed by the vigorous spread of 'new' Pentecostal churches, incorporating a similar non-hierarchical structure and personalized ethos to the *balokole* movement (Gifford, 1998:152-153). While the revival still persists it is nowhere near the force it was in the twentieth century.

Nonetheless in Buganda the revival challenged "an already entrenched Church structure (which although shaped by a broad Evangelical tradition has developed in a different environment from that of the *balokole*), has made a deep impact on many Christians as individuals but has not permeated the Church structures to the same extent as in the west of Uganda" (Ward, 1991:np). More potently in western Uganda the movement dramatically altered the Anglican Church and has become the principal expression of Anglicanism.

According to Gifford "there are different assessments of the qualities the *balokole* movement has brought to COU public life. Some claim that it has led to an element of exclusiveness or intolerance: [as] 'compromise was alien to *balokole* vocabulary'"

(Gifford, 1998:152). Yet, it simultaneously established a community of openness, accountability, and restitution. As Hasting noted it had both negative and positive impacts on the Anglican Church “if the Revival brought a much needed new outburst of commitment to the confession of faith and high moral standards, an intense personal loyalty to Christ which would prove decisive for many in moments of crisis, it also brought conflict, narrowness, spiritual arrogance and near schism” (Hasting 1979:53).

In many ways the movement shared many of the widespread contradictions common to Pentecostal-Charismatic Christianity in Uganda today. According to Gifford, while the movement was based on equalitarian principles it “was disoriented by this infusion of Episcopal authority...Likewise a movement built on unity now developed different centres of power. Secondly, some of the bishops...seemed in their conduct anything but ‘saved’; such discordance caused some crisis of identity” (Gifford, 1998:153).

While the individual ethos of *balokole* provided little in the way in making sense of the changing socio-political context, it was rendered irrelevant by the shifting political climate, a climate that demanded a broader theological vantage. PCCs filled the gap. While many of the underlying principles of *balokole* parallel PC Christianity, it is important to view each movement distinctly.

While the roots of PC Christianity are intertwined with *balokole*, PCCs draw upon the movement to further locate PC Christianity—a relatively new faith—in Ugandan history while grounding it in local revivalist movements [see Chapter VII], validating PC for the Ugandan public. At times PCCs and organisations directly appropriate *balokole* in calls for unity. While not Anglican, the PC umbrella organisation the Born-Again Faith Federation (BAFF) uses the terms born-again and *balokole* interchangeably throughout their literature (BAFF Participant Observation, March 2012).

### ***Pentecostal-Charismatic Christianity***

In present days PCCs are pervasive in Ugandan public space. Churches line the streets of Kampala, bearing banners of salvation. Gospel music promising rebirth broadcasts between radio sermons. Of the nation's four television stations, two transmit continuous PCC programming (Epstein, 2007:192). PCCs have become staples of the city's landscape. This section traces the history of the Ugandan Pentecostal Charismatic movement, in order to understand its transition from a marginal and apolitical movement into a politically engaged community.

Exact figures on the number of PC Christians in Uganda are difficult to measure. While Epstein (2007:192) estimates that around one-third of all Ugandans had converted to PC Christianity by 2000s—around 12 million people—the World Christian Database (2011) puts estimates at over 5 million out of a reported population of 36.35 million (World Bank, 2012). The PC movement is still a minority in Uganda, but its political and social influence—as well as who is born-again—provide it with disproportionate relevance as a transformative force in the public sphere.

The foundations of PC Christianity were first established in Uganda in the 1960s, but it was not until the 1980s that the movement was firmly recognised. During this period churches steadily grew and set the ground for their present ubiquity within the public sphere. Uganda's historical standing as a British protectorate, and Amin's prohibition of other denominations, resulted in a duopoly of Ugandan Christianity to the mainline Catholic and Anglican churches (Gifford, 1998:116).

The first of the mainline Pentecostal congregations established throughout Uganda in the 1960s were the Canadian linked Full Gospel Church and the American-rooted Elim Church (Gusman, 2009:69). However, Amin deported Western missionaries and with it the new churches, although some covertly remained and congregation numbers were marginal (Gifford, 1998:154). From the time Museveni took power in 1986, PC Christianity experienced a profound resurgence, partially attributed to the re-establishment of Uganda within the international community, in conjunction with

the global rise of global evangelicalism with a Ugandan political climate that allowed for more religious diversity (Gifford, 1998:153).

The rapid dissemination of PCCs throughout the 1980s and 90s profoundly altered Christian demographics in Uganda. In the spirit of *balokole*, formative PCCs of the 1980s and 90s employed a de-institutionalised and un-clericalised structure and relied upon a single charismatic leader. Like *balokole*, PCCs maintained a clear delineation between the political and religious realms, viewing politics as a dangerous realm that threatens the born-again lifestyle. Yet, increased social presence has resulted in reappraising the apolitical stance. As voiced by Pastor Ssempe, “politics is a dangerous thing...[but] If we want to have an impact on Uganda, we have to participate in political decisions; if we want to change this country we need to take the risk” (Ssempe 2005 quoted in Gusman, 2009:74).

By the 2000s rising numbers required building larger churches to house burgeoning congregations. In line with the prosperity gospel, the size of the church is a visual signifier of the church’s financial and social influence (Gusman, 2009:69). Yet, the construction of permanent buildings also signified the increased institutionalisation rising political influence of PCCs partly facilitated by the role of many churches in the HIV epidemic (Gusman, 2009:70). Among other factors the movement’s political involvement is bound to HIV, which provided a platform for church expansion due to foreign aid, and helped the movement to gain political influence and a role in policy making. The next section traces the unique relationship between HIV and PCCs in Uganda, a relationship that aided in propelling the Pentecostal community into the world of politics while making sex and sexuality a more acceptable topic for public discussion in the public sphere.

### ***HIV/AIDS and the Politicalisation of Pentecostal-Charismatic Churches***

Throughout sub-Saharan Africa the role of PCCs in HIV outreach demonstrates enormous variety from how Pentecostalism impacts the way individuals (Chitando, 2007; Parsitau, 2009) and communities (Pfeiffer, 2011; Rigillo, 2009) negotiate HIV to the extent of influence Pentecostal responses hold over public health approaches (Clarke, 2007). Uganda provides a unique example of the relationship between HIV and PCCs. Namely HIV has been a major factor in creating some of the conditions for the political mobilisation against homosexuality occurring in the Pentecostal community. For PCCs the HIV epidemic helped to transport an initially apolitical movement into the realm of politics, while for the nation interventions brought discussions about sexuality into the forefront of public debate.

While the Anglican and Catholic churches have been notable for their seemingly more integrative stance on HIV/AIDS prevention (Green, 2003; Trinitapoli, 2009), Pentecostal-Charismatic churches advocated for abstinence and monogamy approaches alone to combat the transmission of HIV. In Uganda, this unwavering approach to the HIV epidemic resulted in the heightened institutionalisation and increased politicisation of the PC community, as HIV provided the unique conditions for PCCs to transition into faith based organisations (FBOs). This transition of many PCCs into FBOs reflects trends in the development industry since Museveni took power, where “After government, the fastest-growing employer in Uganda in the NGO sector” (Mwenda, 2007:34).

International flows of development aid and local conditions came together and fused political initiatives with the religious agenda of the PC community. For Gusman (2009), two contributing factors helped institutionalise the PC community around HIV: their steadfast stance to HIV prevention and the international funding that prioritised it. In turn HIV helped transform Ugandan Pentecostalism as “the epidemic itself encouraged a significant theological refocus...from an ‘otherworldly’ to a ‘this-worldly’ attitude, from the urgency of saving as many souls as possible in the short term, to long-term programs, with a stress on the future of the country” (Gusman, 2009:68).

Since the widespread outbreak of HIV/AIDS nearly thirty years ago, the epidemic has disproportionately impacted sub-Saharan Africa (Magadi, 2013). Uganda is home to nearly one million people infected with HIV/AIDS (UNAIDS, 2008). In 2010 nearly 6.4 percent of adults—aged fifteen to forty-nine—tested positive (CIA, 2010; UAC, 2007). This figure increased to 6.7 percent in 2012 (IRIN, 12/3/2012). In 2012 statistics demonstrated more definitive trends with 7.3 percent of Ugandans HIV positive, “Uganda is the only country reporting a rise in HIV incidence...receiving funding from the United States President’s Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief (PEPFAR), while other PEPFAR countries have consistently reported declines [in] HIV prevalence” (New Vision, 17/10/2012).

The history of Ugandan HIV prevention is marked by three distinct phases, and demonstrates the growing impact of PC churches on national initiatives. National strategies began in 1987 with “strong information campaigns about the virus...with slogan such as Love Faithfully, and Zero Grazing” (Gusman, 2009:71).<sup>30</sup> Throughout the 1990s these initial campaigns were phased out in lieu of the ABC model (Abstain, Be Faithful, and Condoms). During this period the use of condoms increased significantly and rates of HIV began to decline (Allen and Heald, 2004). In 2004 a shift occurred once again in national prevention campaigns with the introduction of PEPFAR funds (Epstein, 2007). For Gusman, “Uganda’s apparent success in reducing the number of HIV infections, together with strong local emphasis among politicians, public figures, and church leaders on ‘family values’” ideally coalesced with the moral foundation of PEPFAR funding (Gusman, 2009:71).

#### *HIV Outreach in Uganda*

When Museveni took power in 1986, inadequate health-systems from twenty years of political instability were overtaken by HIV/AIDS-related illness (Garbus *et al.*, 2003:7). The Museveni regime, along with local and international NGOs and FBOs, made laudable efforts to mitigate transmission. Early achievements were contingent on the frank and public discussions about HIV and sex, which was positioned as a

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<sup>30</sup> Zero Grazing was geared towards men to encourage fewer sexual partners and thus lessen the chance of infection. The campaign drew on a metaphor of cattle grazing, an easily understood agricultural term which means to exclusively feed your livestock within your own enclosure.

disease that could befall anyone (Kuhanen, 2008:324). Within four months of taking political control the government recognised the national significance of the epidemic and created the National AIDS Control Programme (ACP) within the Ministry of Health (Tumushabe, 2006:7).

Early initiatives aimed to combat HIV through multiple approaches of prevention, incorporating comprehensive education with care for the afflicted, along with abstinence, behavioural change or monogamy, condom use (ABC), and voluntary testing (Tumushabe, 2006:10). Participation and communal consensus was fostered from below in order to situate HIV at the forefront of public consciousness (Kaleeba *et al.*, 2000:9). NGOs and “community-based support led to flexible, creative and culturally appropriate interventions...help[ing] facilitate behaviour[al] change” (Green *et al.*, 2006). While government campaigns played an invaluable role in fostering awareness, community-based initiatives made headway—opening communication—integrating grassroots and religious leaders into the public health arena (Allen & Heald, 2004; Wilson, 2004). USAID funds were distributed to community-based organisations, financing peer education (Marum, 2002). Throughout this period there was intense co-operation between government, health-sectors, and NGOs (Sadgrove, 2007:120).

By the 1990s community, faith-based, and government programmes were in place. Central to numerous initiatives, particularly The AIDS Support Organisation (TASO), was the concept of home-based care, alleviating insufficient state health care and de-stigmatising contact with people living with HIV/AIDS (Bass, 2005:2077). Campaigns predicated upon a “personalized, informal, [and] intimate...nature” found success in decreasing prevalence and framed HIV as a national problem (Epstein, 2007:169). In 1990, there was comprehensive condom distribution, increasing condom acceptance from 4 to 40 percent in two years (Tumushabe, 2006:8). By the early 1990s the donor-dependent Ugandan AIDS Commission (UAC) was established to coordinate, monitor, and execute HIV/AIDS policy (Tumushabe, 2006:7). Throughout this period state-led initiatives—along with



NGOs and FBOs—became increasingly institutionalised, veering away from their formative grassroots orientations.

The centralisation of HIV-initiatives to the government and UAC held negative impacts, “shifting the planning away from the realities of the field...[reinforcing and establishing]...hierarchical power structures in which the flow of information...[was] arrested” (Kuhanen, 2008:302). HIV/AIDS programmes became increasingly standardised, sacrificing context for reproducibility. Mitigation was approached through the incorporation of social and biomedical strategies, exemplified by the singular ABC approach (Demange, 2009:1). Throughout the nineties diverse approaches were phased out, in favour of the more transferable ABC campaign alone (Epstein, 2007:197).

While the mid-nineties saw economic growth and political stability, along with the privatisation of state-sectors, the nation persisted as a de facto single-party state heavily dependent upon international donors, in addition to the 600 million US dollars received annually from IMF’s Structural Adjustment Programmes (Tumushabe, 2006:2-4). By the late-nineties the economy became increasingly unstable. In three years exports declined by nearly 200 million U.S. dollars, Uganda qualified for HIPC assistance in 1998, and by 2001 the World Bank identified the country as one of the world’s poorest (World Bank, 2010). Of all sectors, HIV/AIDS was the most reliant upon foreign funding. From 1987 funds from the World Bank, The Global Fund, and The Great Lakes Initiative, among others, along with UN supported organisations, financed the Ugandan fight against HIV (Tumushabe, 2006:5).

Over 90 percent of HIV resources were distributed by international donors (Tumushabe, 2006:6). By 2000 the dependency on donors was clear when a “review of the UAC found that many...[initiatives] had ceased...because donor funding had become exhausted. For the government, failure to appease donors would lead to economic collapse and...roll back the national HIV/AIDS programme” (*ibid*). Needing to justify a decade of international funding and to secure future funds the

Museveni administration, international donors, and the academic community highlighted the ‘success’ of the Ugandan case by drawing on disputable statistical declines, where “the history of Uganda’s HIV epidemic...[became] a showcase” for successful HIV/AIDS prevention, based on the promotion of abstinence and fidelity (Kuhanen, 2008:306-307).

In 2001, the American-funded Presidential Initiative on AIDS Strategy for Communication to Youth (PIASCY) expanded HIV abstinence education to primary and secondary schools (HRW, 2005:2). Overseen by USAID, the programme reportedly distributed erroneous materials about condoms, “including the claim that they contain...pores...permeable by HIV” (ibid). By the time the U.S. President’s Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief (PEPFAR) was initiated in 2003/2004, the government had already distanced itself from condom use, underplaying condoms in favour of more evangelically minded abstinence and monogamy for decreasing prevalence (Sadgrove, 2007:121). Instrumental in promoting abstinence was First Lady—and Pentecostal-Charismatic—Janet Museveni, who called for a “virgin-census” in 2004 and organised public abstinence marches throughout Kampala (HRW, 2005:3). Following PEPFAR, state policy shifted even further away from condoms, and billboards encouraging abstinence replaced condom advertisements (Gusman, 2009:72).

Over a decade later the ‘success’ was starkly reversed. In 2012 Ugandan publications acknowledged a rise in rates of infection, attributing the burgeoning rates to public complacency. Yet while rates continue to rise insecurity over condoms persists. Rumours that condoms “spread HIV” are common in Uganda, and the 2004/2005 recall of defective Engabu brand condoms, the most affordable on the market, further eroded the reputation of condoms among Ugandans (Wakabi, 2006). Access to condoms has been tentative. Following the recall a widespread condom shortage occurred in 2005, while many of the condoms on the market increased in price by 500 percent price (HRW, 2005). After the National Medical Stores’ stocks were downgraded in 2010, there was another condom shortage and several districts ran out of condoms intended for free distribution (IRIN, June 2010).

The way condoms are even marketed in Uganda often conflicts with the values of religious consumers. Many brands embody sin and sexual excess. The South African company Contempo Condoms which manufactures Rough Rider, Power Play, Bareback, Wet N'Wild, and Erotica condoms are the most readily available throughout Kampala. They are marketed not as a preventative tool for health and well-being, but as a singular sexual device emblazoned with images of white women's breasts and backsides. They are then read as declaring the immoral constitution of the outside world.<sup>31</sup>

The 2012 HIV/AIDS campaign, the 'Sexual Network' initiative, encouraged the public to 'get off of the sexual network'. This campaign reflects the work of Epstein (2008) and Thornton (2008), which situates the Ugandan epidemic as a result not of more sexual partners, but the frequency of concurrent sexual partners. Epstein demonstrates that the size of the sexual network of most Ugandans is the main factor in the rates of infection of HIV/AIDS. Yet, in many ways this approach reinforces the erasure of condoms in preventative care. Ugandans are encouraged to stop having multiple sexual partners, rearticulating abstinence and fidelity. Condoms remain absent from these approaches, which reinforces the need for behavioural change in sexual practice.

According to Craddock:

Part of disease risk and response involves... social identity formation, the cultural framing of medical discourse, and the production of bodies at risk... diseases... are cultural products... [HIV/AIDS is] framed through the trope of sexual deviance... bodies are inscribed as diseased by the processes of epidemiological interpretations themselves, and as such these processes are trenchant for the perceptions of risk they create and the responses they generate (Craddock, 2000:151).

Initiatives like ABC emphasise behavioural change over contributors like structural violence, poverty, and gender equality to HIV, and promote an understanding of African sexuality in need of reform and discipline. According to Taylor, "what is

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<sup>31</sup> See Appendix A.

problematic in the continued use of...racist perceptions and misconceptions is that they have been appropriated by the body politic to bolster the need to regulate, monitor and control populations...in the interest” of public health (Taylor, 1998). HIV prevention is grounded on risk assessment. Isolating risk factors is based upon a belief that those with a shared disease share similar traits (*ibid*). Individuals are responsible for a healthy lifestyle (Decoteau, 2008:231); and in this way the strategies of prevention espoused by PCCs mirror this aspect of public health.

Yet, for the purpose of this study a main contribution to the current climate around homosexuality within the public sphere is the way HIV brought sexuality into the public sphere. From condoms, to discussions of abstinence, monogamy and multiple sexual partners sex and sexuality maintains a prominent place in public space. In this way HIV changed the nature of the public sphere by creating more open dialogue on sexuality. For Tamale “the HIV/AIDS Pandemic has in many ways flung open the doors on sexuality” (Tamale, 2003:5). HIV made sex and consequently sexuality an acceptable topic for public discussion. Even the linguistic subtlety on sex and sexuality has recently begun to dramatically change, and discussions of sexuality are increasingly explicit (Epprecht, 2008).

For Uganda early national campaigns that encouraged ‘Zero Grazing’ and ‘Love Carefully’ dominated public space, billboards covered shops and were located along major thoroughfares, eventually replaced by ABC slogans. The campaigns contributed to bringing discourse about sex into the public sphere (Parikh, 2005). Yet, the emphasis on ‘sex as risk’ exhibited a moral framework that encouraged individuals to practice ‘self-discipline’ to avoid infection (Geissler & Prince, 2007:135). The newsletter *Straight Talk* disseminated HIV discussion to primary and secondary schools (Adamchak *et al.*, 2007:4). Public and private newspapers regularly wrote about HIV, and sex was a regular topic in administrative speeches (Epstein, 2007:162). Whether Ugandans were encouraged to engage in ‘responsible’ sex and avoid “indiscriminate...free-ranging sexual relations”, or stick to the ‘ABCs’; sex had a new pride of place in the public sphere (New Vision, 1986 quoted

in Epstein, 2007:162). Sex was even a central topic on the radio, as it was heavily utilised for HIV consciousness as well.

Public discourse around HIV also established an explicit link between a particular Christian morality and sexuality (Christiansen, 2001:93). In one respect such frank discussions around sexuality were both markedly new and deep-rooted, as the “former British colonial power through legislation aiming at re-educating ‘the native subjects’ in sexual mores” (Strand, 2012:566). However sexuality had remained a taboo topic in the public sphere. HIV redefined the public sphere by bringing sexuality out of the realm of the private, and sexuality was made an appropriate subject for public debate. In response, as chapter III will demonstrate, discourses coming from the local LGBTI community soon emerged and were quickly met by anti-gay voices from the Pentecostal community, voices that now held greater political authority.

#### *PEPFAR & PCCs*

In the case of Uganda faith-based initiatives are uniquely involved in public health education and influence the frame of prevention messages. The growth of faith-based HIV/AIDS programmes often complicates the relationship between religion and politics throughout sub-Saharan Africa, as religion, civil society, government, the development industry and healthcare become inextricably linked (Prince *et al.*, 2009:viii). Uganda offers a unique example of how foreign funding, the development industry and the HIV epidemic came together to change the political nature of the Ugandan Pentecostal movement, a phenomenon that holds significant implications for the current national focus on homosexuality.

In 2003 the Bush administration requested fifteen billion dollars from the United States Congress to be allocated primarily among FBOs and evangelical organisations, with 1 billion dollars alone earmarked for abstinence campaigns (Sadgrove, 2007:121; Epstein, 2007:186). Throughout the congressional debates Janet Museveni presented a statement before the U.S. Congress where she cited

abstinence as the primary factor in alleviating the Ugandan epidemic (Tumushabe, 2006:11).

The emphasis on abstinence education within PEPFAR correlates to the Bush administration's evangelical ties, the mobilisation of which largely secured his presidency (Sadgrove, 2007:121). In turn, numerous organisations received considerable funding through PEPFAR for faith-based and evangelical HIV programmes (Epstein, 2007:187). Yet, evangelical motives were not limited to the American religious-right, but to the shifting demographic of Uganda—contingent on the simultaneous rise of Ugandan born-again Christians.

Originally only marginally involved in HIV PCCs began numerous initiatives following PEPFAR. In four years PEPFAR allocated around \$650 million USD to Uganda (Gusman, 2009:68). PCCs capitalized on these funds that were “channeled into FBOs working on HIV/AIDS prevention issues, particularly those concerning abstinence and faithfulness” (Gusman, 2009:68). According to Cooper (2014) and Patterson (2011) U.S. evangelical and African Pentecostal and Pentecostal-Charismatic churches have been among the primary beneficiaries of PEPFAR. In turn, in recent years US evangelical efforts in sub-Saharan Africa have experienced a profound increase (McCleary, 2009; Hearn, 2002). For Cooper, PEPFAR “can be said to have institutionalized [the foreign and domestic evangelical] presence in US humanitarian aid by enshrining the moral prohibitions of conservative Christianity in the very conditions of its funding (Cooper, 2014:3).

Yet, PEPFAR was not the only humanitarian initiative that has helped to institutionalise the Pentecostal presence. Under the Bush administration an executive order established an official office for Faith-Based and Community Initiatives in the US Agency for International Development (USAID), “with the express purpose of facilitating foreign aid contracts with faith-based service providers” (Cooper, 2014:3). USAID issued a subsequent ruling that prohibited discriminatory practices against religious organisations. For Clarke, this equalised “the treatment of secular

and religious organizations [but] effectively tilts the balance in favour of the latter” (Clarke, 2007:82).

Yet the increased prominence of faith-based actors is not solely the result of U.S. interventionism. According to Cooper, “the theological turn in international emergency relief both responds to and serves to amplify on-going developments in the domestic politics of sub-Saharan African states, where non-governmental organizations in general, and religious organizations in particular, have come to play an increasingly prominent role in the provision of social services” (Cooper, 2014:4).

In Uganda PCCs became increasingly involved in HIV initiatives and national strategies took on a moral character. PEPFAR funds prioritised particular moral strategies of prevention over other methods like condoms. Three requirements came along with the distribution of PEPFAR funds, two of which prove particularly pertinent to further discussion. One stipulation mandates that “one-third of all prevention funds should be spent on the promotion of sexual abstinence before marriage...based on the principles of ABC (Abstain, be Faithful, use Condoms), with condom distribution being treated as an absolute last resort” (Cooper, 2014:2). The second stipulation in the distribution of PEPFAR funds “exempted faith-based organizations from participating in prevention strategies they found to be morally objectionable”, essentially erasing alternative prevention strategies from the public sphere (Cooper, 2014:2).

This produced a stark repositioning of government and political discourse on condoms. Beginning in the late 1980s, President Museveni encouraged monogamous relationships and eventually ABC, in turn the government advocated for the use of both male and female condoms in prevention strategies (Bond and Vincent, 1997; Lyons, 1997). Uganda was actually one of the first sub-Saharan countries to freely distribute female condoms (Susser, 2009). Throughout the 1990s Museveni spoke in concordance with ABC approaches and championed the “now famous ‘Abstain—Be faithful—use a Condom’” (Economist, 8/9/2005).

Yet, by the mid-2000s public statements issued by Museveni and his wife Janet condemned the use of condoms. In a succession of public statements in 2004 Museveni stated that condoms encouraged promiscuity and were “inappropriate for Ugandans” (Museveni cited in New Vision, 17/5/2004), an “improvisation, not a solution” to the HIV epidemic (Museveni cited in Schuettler, 12/7/2004), and that “condomisation...is a recipe for disaster” (Museveni cited in UNIRIN, 12/10/2004).

First lady Janet Museveni reinforced the President’s statements. Speaking before a youth conference in 2004 Janet Museveni remarked “don’t give your airtime to anyone talking to you about using condoms” (Western, 2007). In 2006 the first lady reiterated the dangers of condoms, “I would not be caught advising you to take any shortcuts or compromise your lives by using any device invented by man, such as condoms, in order to facilitate any desire to go against God’s clear plan for your life” (Western, 2007).

In 2008 the Obama administration re-authorised PEPFAR, and provided an additional 48 billion US dollars of funds over a five-year period to recipient countries (Cooper, 2014:2). Accordingly for Cooper:

By channeling much of its money through US-based evangelical organizations that are then instructed to disburse funding to local NGOs and, more recently, by channelling funding directly to African NGOs. The moral strictures inscribed in PEPFAR legislation have predictably favoured the conservative sexual politics of the neo-Pentecostal churches...and [PEPFAR] has served to institutionalize the presence of Pentecostal-charismatic churches in the very social infrastructure of sub-Saharan Africa (Cooper, 2014:6).

In Uganda “there has been an increased ‘NGOization’ of religion. The religious defence of the natural family is not only undertaken by churches...but also by an increasing number of civil society organizations defending religious doctrines” (Vaggione, 2005:240). The PC community has profound political influence because of the financial opportunities the HIV epidemic provided.



Churches part in HIV has equally informed their theological stance. For PCCs their newfound role not only changed national responses to HIV but the goals of Ugandan Pentecostalism, as the “moralization of Ugandan responses and politics related to the epidemic...[led to] the development of Pentecostal discourses about the need to raise a new generation of ‘saved’ (born again) people, future leaders for the country (Gusman, 2009:68).

Ugandan PC Christianity is contingent on history. Christianity was political from the time of first contact, and homosexuality and tradition are inextricable from Christianity in practice and in the national memory. The period of colonialism privileged Anglicanism over Catholicism, generating the perception of disunity PCCs hope to transcend. Balokole informs the PC movement. While PC Christianity is relatively new to Uganda, PC discourse draws on balokole to gain history. Independence further exacerbated religious disunity and marked the introduction of early Pentecostal and subsequent PC movement. However, for the current conditions around sexuality, politics and PCCs the most significant event was the HIV/AIDS epidemic.

HIV helped to not only create the conditions for PCCs outside of the religious sphere, but as development actors, integrating them within the political sphere, while not only bringing sexuality further into public discussion but making sexuality itself a matter for the public in the way that individuals govern their intimate lives. As briefly mentioned the ability of HIV discourse to bring sexuality into the public debate made room for claims among the local LGBTI community to occupy public space. Consequently, the next chapter explores ‘public sexuality’ and the frame of African sexuality in both political and religious discourse, as well as local LGBTI communities.

### CHAPTER III

## SEXUALITY IN THE PUBLIC SPHERE

*“Over the years the name Uganda has been associated with disease, war and poverty. O Lord, we recognise the cause of all our calamity as a nation is that we did not put our trust in you from the very founding of our nation.”*

*(New Vision, 9/10/2012)*

The growing influence of Pentecostal-Charismatic discourse is markedly demonstrated in public health initiatives on HIV/AIDS [see Chapter II] and with legislation regulating sexuality, exemplified with the AHB. Pentecostal-Charismatic Christianity—while in no way singular—espouses a doctrine of rebirth and transformation. While the gospel of prosperity often championed by PCCs emphasises an ethic of materiality and accumulation, PC Christianity is far beyond materiality alone. The intimate spiritual relationship followers establish with the Divine drives their everyday lives and negotiations with health and sexuality.

PC Christianity fully incorporates a concept of physical as well as spiritual healing. HIV/AIDS and homosexuality are both seen as spiritual ‘illnesses’ which can be transformed, wherein the afflicted is reborn. In many ways this discourse has informed the way born-again Christians negotiate their own sexuality and health. As demonstrated by Sadgrove (2007) a divergence exists between people’s *public* lives as a born-again and their *private* actions. Consequently this divergence can hold negative implications for the transmission of HIV/AIDS (Epstein, 2007), demonstrated in the previous chapter, while creating a necessity to publicly perform a sexual identity defined as ‘heteronormative’.

Yet, while PC discourse has worked to influence private action, the aim of this chapter is to further understand changes in the public sphere (Taylor, 1992) initiated by the HIV epidemic and understandings of sexuality. HIV brought sexuality, and thus homosexuality, into the public sphere. Understanding the Ugandan Pentecostal-Charismatic movement’s discursive impact on broader processes of political

governance and citizenship requires an exploration of sexuality in public debate, which in many ways opened the door to legislation regulating sexuality.

This chapter demonstrates the understandings of sexuality employed by PCCs and dominant accounts in the public sphere. First the shift in the frame of sexuality in the Ugandan public sphere is considered, followed by how sexuality is approached in public discourse throughout sub-Saharan Africa at large to elaborate PC understandings of sexuality with the broader Ugandan and African community. Next, in order the discussion turns to ‘global’ discourses of sexuality and human rights to understand the divergent and contradictory frames, these sections allow for a comparative review of two competing narratives—‘traditional African’ sexuality and ‘global’ LGBTI identity. This is followed with a consideration of the AHB.

### ***Bringing Sexuality into the Public Sphere***

The Ugandan HIV epidemic made sexuality a public topic. Prevention campaigns rendered sex an ever-present subject in public health discourse. Development actors in the form of international and local NGOs and FBOs helped to propel sexuality into the public sphere and forced conversations regarding sex and gender (Tamale, 2011:92). Yet, public sexuality stands at odds with the local frame of sexuality employed by PCCs and throughout much of the public sphere, “In Uganda we do not kiss in public...these things [sex] are not meant for public, that is all new...it came from the West, they [Ugandans] learn sex from the West...we like to close our doors, that is our traditional way” (Miracle Interview, December 2011).

While it is unclear if sexuality ever retained a more public past, in public discourse sexuality is ‘traditionally’ relegated to the private. The legacy of colonialism contributed to the erasure of more diverse sexual histories and concealed sexuality from the public. European missionaries sought to reform social mores surrounding sexuality, including heterosexuality, the family, and the ‘sexual body’ into models more consistent with Christian belief (Tamale, 2011:81).

Yet, at the very least, until HIV/AIDS, sex was not a subject for public debate. The tension created by public sexuality is made clear by Museveni. When criticising the public nature of sexuality, he draws on tradition when he says that “sex among Africans including heterosexuals is confidential...If am to kiss my wife in public, I would lose an election in Uganda...[we don’t] exhibit sexual acts in public...respect the confidentiality of sex in our traditions and culture” (Museveni quoted in New Vision, 19/3/2013).

The increased visibility of sexuality contributed to an environment of anxiety and resistance to the perceived ‘sexualisation’ of the public sphere, a characteristic of the West, where “everything is sexualised but this is you standing up to that” (One Love Interview, May 2012). For the PC community the AHB is as much as a rejection of the more public nature of sexuality and externality, as it is a matter of public concern and rejection of homosexuality itself.

The realignment of sexuality opened up space for Ugandan LGBTI organisations. According to a member of the Ugandan LGBTI group *Icebreakers*, before HIV “no one talked about sex, but then it was on the radio, on billboards...we took this as an opportunity...to talk about sexuality, to talk about [LGBTI] rights...if people were talking about sex...it was our time to talk about it too” (IceBreakers Interview, April 2012). Taking the ‘opportunity’, LGBTI activism in Uganda has grown since early 2000s, following the formation of the first LGBTI NGO and umbrella organisation, Sexual Minorities Uganda (SMUG), which includes organisations like *Icebreakers Uganda*, *Freedom and Roam*, and *Spectrum Uganda* (*ibid*).

SMUG works to achieve:

[F]ull legal and social equality for lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender people in Uganda A consequence of the failure to protect sexual minorities in Uganda is the inability to preserve minority identity in the country. Protection of identity here means, not only, that the state shall abstain from policies that negatively impact on LGBT people, but also embark on those that shall protect them against activities of the society which tantamount to human rights violations. There is, therefore, a need to strengthen the political commitment to LGBT

rights in Uganda, thus, a continuous dialog to improve Uganda's social cohesion (SMUG, 2004).

Founded in 2004 by Victor Mukasa, SMUG is headed by local activist Frank Mugisha. Before SMUG "there was no climate for the LGBT community, there was no dialogue" (IceBreakers Interview, April 2012). After SMUG was founded some LGBTI Ugandans even felt safe to "come out of the closet" (*ibid*). However, many have since returned after the AHB was proposed, fearing persecution or even death. According to a member of SMUG, the majority of Ugandans "think the LGBT movement is gaining momentum, [before the Legislation] we put posters around the city...held workshops" and claimed public space (*ibid*).

The ways in which LGBTI groups claimed public space were in line with the global shift towards 'human rights' over 'sexual rights' or merely tolerance from the mainstream. Employing a discourse of human rights requires the public identification or claim of non-normative sexuality in order for rights to be extended. This has resulted in a global public sphere that defines 'homosexuals' in parts of the world that relegated same-sex practices to the private. For detractors 'homosexuality' is further strengthened as an imperial project (Hoad, 2007:xiii). The mobilisation against the LGBTI movement is in part a response to the community's increased public presence.

Yet, vehement denunciations of homosexuality are nothing new in the African continent, and the use of 'anti-gay' rhetoric by members beyond the church community is a common characteristic of the postcolonial legacy. While HIV redefined the Ugandan public sphere, it also legitimised Western academic considerations of 'African' sexuality once again as scholars attempted to explain the disproportionate rates of HIV throughout the region (Tamale, 2011:17). Before the HIV epidemic sexuality was a topic most researchers avoided, after early academic pursuits reproduced colonial and missionary accounts that exoticised the African body and sexuality.

### *Understanding 'African' Sexuality*

This section explores colonial and postcolonial understandings of sexuality throughout Africa, in order to understand how early colonial accounts worked to create a heterosexual 'African' sexuality. While emic historical accounts of African sexuality "are alive in folklore, traditional songs, dance...these systems of knowledge are denigrated in the theoretical and normative domains of mainstream research...[and] 'reclassified as oral traditions rather than histories'" (Tamale, 2011:14). The earliest written accounts on African sexuality come from missionaries and colonial explorers, where the African body and sexuality was the 'uncivilised' site to justify the colonial project (McClintock, 1995). For Tamale, "Western imperialist caricatures of African sexualities were part of a wider design to colonise and exploit the black race. Narratives equate black sexuality with primitiveness", hypersexualised and immoral (Tamale, 2011:14-15). At the beginning of the twentieth century, many academic pursuits continued in the frame of exotic and hypersexualised representations (Lyons & Lyons, 2004).

Homosexuality throughout sub-Saharan Africa has remained a marginal and often taboo topic. The majority of academic research occurred over the past two decades, after the HIV epidemic 'legitimised' academic discussions of African sexuality once again and marked a revival in colonial approaches towards African sexualities (Gausset, 2001:511). Work on homosexuality remains relatively nascent and historically grounded.

In both current Western research and in dominant social narratives in local communities, understandings of African homosexuality reflect the interpretations of African sexuality promoted by colonial authorities. From early colonial accounts to some contemporary scholarship, African sexuality—and the body itself—has been fettered to conceptions of the African "primal other...an icon of dangerous desire [and a]...projection of a self never fully tamable" (Comaroff, 2007:197). Vestiges of the hypersexual African remain alive and well, from public health interventions emanating from international development and humanitarian discourses to Ugandan PC discourse itself.

The bulk of research on homosexuality concerns verifying the existence of ‘homosexual’ activity throughout the region (Epprecht, 2008). The dominant emic argument upholds formative notions that the practice is at odds with indigenous identity, a Western import that degrades ‘traditional’ African culture. Yet, rather than originating from African communities, this argument was first introduced by European colonizers.

Today African ‘traditionalists’ employ “biblical, public health, or ‘family values’ arguments that appear to be borrowed wholesale from social conservatives in the West, while the repressive laws are a direct legacy of colonial rule. Even the claim that same-sex sexual behaviour is un-African appears to have originated in the West” (Epprecht, 2008:7). Yet, as the history of Buganda demonstrates homosexuality occurred [see Chapter II] and was openly chastised, not just by African traditionalists but by converted Christians and missionaries alike, and used to justify colonial intervention.

Accounts from Bryk (1964) and Gelfand (1985) depict the absence of homosexuality in pre-colonial African culture. Yet, Bleys (1995), Hoad (2000) and Murray and Roscoe (1997, 1998) underscore the Western origins of narratives that equate African with heterosexual from colonial accounts that erase same-sex sexual practices. While the occurrence of homosexual sex has been documented (Epprecht, 2008; Hoad, 2007; Murray & Roscoe, 1998; Phillips, 2004), accounts that obscure the practice partially reflect African social expectations that emphasise procreation over sexual gratification.

In contrast to the West, African “heterosexual marriage and procreation—but not necessarily heterosexual desire, orientation, or monogamy—are universal expectations... the social pressure on Africans who desire same-sex relations is not concerned with... their sexual object preference... but primarily with their production of children... and the maintenance of a conventional image of married life” (Murray & Roscoe, 1998:272-273). As a result African homosexuality has remained relatively ‘invisible’ because self-identifications of sexual orientation are

publicly aligned hetero-normatively. This speaks to the divide between the public and private. Tamale (2003) suggests the majority of Ugandans who privately engage in homosexual acts publicly represent themselves as heterosexual in order to avoid discrimination and fulfil societal pressures of family and procreation.

Language is also revealing in terms of homosexuality. The linguistic emphasis seen throughout studies of 'African' homosexuality is far from arbitrary. Language reflects the way in which sexuality is culturally conceived. African 'homosexuality' exists privately or is rejected as a category all together. Historically, within the African context private same-sex sex has been accepted as long as such desires do not supplant procreation (Murray & Roscoe, 1998:273).

Language is essential from an understanding of 'African' homosexuality (Cole & Thomas, 2009; Epprecht, 2004, 2008; Hoad, 2007). Terms for *homosexuality* in indigenous languages are often absent. Commonly the language employed to discuss homosexuality, like sexuality in general, is euphemistic. Yet, the language used to describe homosexual acts reinforces its need to remain private. Moto's (2004) examination of Malawi demonstrates the reliance on euphemism and idioms to discuss sex, which relates to talking 'around' homosexuality in order for the act to remain private.

According to Epprecht, "the language Africans have used to describe such relationships is in fact commonly euphemistic or coy almost to the point of incomprehensibility beyond those in the know... yet in recent years that subtlety has begun to change quite dramatically" in reaction to increased urbanisation, external cultural influences, changing gender relations and the growing influence of the international gay rights movement (Epprecht, 2008:8-9). The appropriation of Western terms for homosexuality by local communities further aligns homosexuality as a foreign practice.

Linguistically the terms *homosexual* and *queer* are limiting, as they denote particular public sexual identities inappropriate to African contexts. Phillips (2004)



acknowledges the limitations of defining same-sex sexual activity with the exertion of a public homosexual identity. For Phillips, hetero-identity suggests the existence of a contrast form and promotes a constraining binary (Phillips, 2004:155). The public demonstration of homosexuality, rather than its occurrence, may prove inapplicable to contexts like Uganda. Acts of private homosexuality fail to correspond to claims of a public homosexual identity, since such acts are often not defined as homosexual encounters. Consequently a more appropriate definition for 'traditional' African *homosexuality* is that it remains in the private sphere, rather than something that does not exist at all. In this respect 'African' homosexuality does not exist as a distinct public identity in the Western sense.

For Hoad (2007) intimacy more appropriately defines African homosexuality, as it often equates to private acts over an overt expression of sexual identity. Situating the use of homosexuality (as a term) within contemporary Africa as a product of globalisation, Hoad considers the relevance of the "terms sexuality and homosexuality as they appear in diverse contexts, genres, and publics" (Hoad, 2007:xix). Hoad contextualises African sexuality within an era of the exportation of a Western sexual binary as a means of classifying sexual behaviour. This classification converges with race and nationality in order to locally distinguish 'true' Africans—while globally authenticating 'true' homosexuals (*ibid*).

For Epprecht (2004) in the African context the public expression of homosexual identity is grounded in processes of globalisation, what Cruz-Malavé and Manalansan (2002) deem *queer globalizations*—or the transnational flow of a more homogenised conception of queer identity and global human rights movements—emanating from the West. The majority of queer theory dominant throughout Cruz-Malavé and Manalansan's anthology, utilises a Foucauldian framework to highlight the intersection of sexuality, knowledge, and power in the 'discursive creation of sexual Others' (Cruz-Malavé & Manalansan, 2002).

The process of 'othering' ultimately serves the interests of particular social classes and strengthens the cohesion of national identities by excluding the divergent 'Other' (Epprecht, 2004:13). The process of creating a divergent sexual 'Other' is evident in

recent statements from political leaders and in the public sphere throughout sub-Saharan Africa, as exemplified in the following section. Yet, contemporary discourse around homosexuality that is produced by Africans is as much the result of colonial constructions of divergent African sexuality as it is a reaction against the universal frame of homosexuality produced by global LGBTI activists. The next section further addresses contemporary discourse around homosexuality throughout African public spheres.

### *The Frame of Homosexuality in African Public Discourse*

Throughout the majority of sub-Saharan Africa, homosexuality is framed as an inherently ‘un-African’ practice. African leaders from Mugabe to Mbeki have publicly denounced the ‘foreign’ behaviour. Zimbabwean President Mugabe once stated, “if dogs and pigs don’t do it, why must human beings? Can human beings be human beings if they do worse than pigs?” (Hoad, 2007:xii). Mugabe’s statement does more than define homosexuality as un-African, it dehumanises the practice while relegating homosexuals to a position beneath animals.

In 1999 Kenyan president Daniel arap Moi declared homosexuality to be “against African tradition and Biblical teachings. I will not shy away from warning Kenyans against the dangers of the scourge” (Niang, 2010:116). Three years prior Namibian President Nujoma stated “the republic of Namibia does not allow homosexuality [or] lesbianism here...those who are practising homosexuality...are destroying the nation” (Stewart, 2003:217). More than ten years before the AHB, Museveni stated, “I was in America some time ago, I saw a rally of 300,000 homosexuals. If you have a rally of 30 homosexuals here, I would disperse it...I have told the CID [Criminal Investigations Department] to look for homosexuals, lock them up, and charge them” (HRW, 2003).

According to Hoad, explaining the remarks of Mugabe and fellow African leaders is problematic. Often the public denunciations of homosexuality employed by political leaders obscure greater political and economic unrest (Hoad, 1999:559). During the time of Mugabe’s public condemnation of homosexuality his popularity was in rapid

decline, and Museveni “became strident about homosexuals at exactly the time Ugandans were most critical of him for dragging their country into the Congo war” (Gevisser, 2000:116). Yet, by some accounts Mugabe’s comments:

[A]ttempt to deflect attention from the collapsing Zimbabwean economy and his increasingly autocratic rule...Given the timing of these remarks, it may be possible to read homophobic strands in African nationalism as displaced resistance to perceived and real encroachments on neocolonial national sovereignty by economic and cultural globalization (Hoad, 2007:xiii).

The public statements of African statesmen speak to their perceived view that homosexuality is a form of cultural imperialism, masked in global discourses of human rights. Consequently, it is necessary to consider if it is the act of homosexuality or the public projection of a Western or global form of homosexual identity—or perceived cultural imperialism—that is really being resisted.

One of the most successful lines of attack surrounding homosexuality is that it is un-African. This perspective is supported when Western donors threatened to discontinue aid if the Legislation regulating sexuality was passed. The Ugandan Minister of Ethics, Simon Lokodo says “it treats us like children...this is blackmailing, that is neo-colonialist and oppression. Attaching sharing of resources to a lifestyle of people is completely unacceptable...if you want to give [aid], you give it irrespective of our customs and cultures” (Simon Lokodo quoted in Reuters, June 2012).

This assertion is upheld by numerous PCCs. Recently Pastor Ssempe of *One Love* presented a view that homosexuality is a foreign practice and sexuality a private one. Ssempe states “the major argument homosexuals have is that what people do in the privacy of their bedrooms is nobody’s business but do you know what they do in their bedrooms... is this what Obama wants to bring to Africa?” (Huffington Post, 2010). The narrative of ‘cultural imperialism’ is bound to the global dissemination of LGBTI identity and discourses of human rights. Consequently, an exploration of global discourses of human rights and sexuality is required.

### *The Frame of Homosexuality in Global Discourse*

African sexuality is constructed as one monolithic, *i.e.*, heteronormative, category in the local narratives of African politicians, and church leaders and throughout the public sphere. Yet, monolithic categorisations are replicated in the way both Western-oriented or originating LGBTI and human rights organisations universalise the public expression of *homosexual* identity. The way some LGBTI Ugandans articulate their own ‘public identity’ appropriates Western archetypes of *queerness*. While Ugandans are expected to publicly *perform* a ‘traditional’ or normative heterosexual identity (Butler, 1990), those who publicly identify as homosexual or *queer* publicly *perform* their own sexual identity. Borrowing from a normative Western frame of *homosexuality*, a *performance* of queerness validates private sexuality and renders it a public identity. From clothing, to the way the body occupies public space, to the use of the rainbow flag, particular identifiers of *queerness* are appropriated.

Throughout sub-Saharan Africa the vilification of homosexuality in public discourse has mobilised resistance from numerous global LGBTI advocates. LGBTI activists counter anti-gay rhetoric—couched in tradition—with a discourse of human rights, or *sexual citizenship*, to combat the persecution of LGBTI people. Citizenship itself is a contested category, and claims for citizenship have reinvented the relationship between sexual identity and the public sphere.

For Richardson, despite the “focus on the public sphere in previous considerations of citizenship...the everyday practices of individuals are increasingly becoming the bases of citizenship...the ‘private’ and intimate practices of sex are also part of the realms in which healthy citizenship is constituted” (Richardson, 2000:106). Conceptually sexual citizenship employs two distinct usages. The first refers to the extension or denial of sexual rights to social groups (Richardson, 2000:107). Secondly sexual citizenship has been used to illustrate access to rights more broadly. For Richardson, the “various forms of citizenship status dependent upon a person’s sexuality...[includes] citizenships as a set of civil, political and social rights, as well as common membership of a shared community” (*ibid*).

Fundamentally sexual rights demand the ability to participate in private sexual acts. The private/public binary is an essential frame for understanding claims of sexual rights. While demands for sexual rights in the West began as claims for privacy, “in recent years there has been a shift in this discourse...for example, queer politics which have emphasized the right to public forms of sexual expression” (Richardson, 2000:112). This is linked to constructions of sexual identity. The shift towards identity-based approaches in sexual rights, and thus sexual citizenship, began in the United States and Europe with the gay liberation movements. The sexual rights campaigns employed during this period demanded the right not only to engage in private same-sex behavior, but also to publicly express sexual identities that diverged from normative classifications.

For Richardson, “this reflected an emphasis...of gay activism on the importance of being open about one’s sexuality through ‘coming out’ and publicly identifying as lesbian or gay” (Richardson, 2000:117). More recently critiques of mainstream culture and social institutions by LGBTI actors have continued to evolve throughout the Western world and are now characterised by how access is sought in the mainstream by demanding equal rights of citizenship (D’Emilio, 2000). This change in the frame of LGBTI politics is described as a ‘politics of normalisation’ (Richardson, 2005). For Richardson, by deploying discourses of “‘sameness’ with heterosexuals...emphasising the rights of individuals rather than ‘gay rights’ and in seeking equality’ with, rather than tolerance from, the mainstream” LGBTI actors maintain the institutional status quo, and work to be included, rather than destabilising normative frameworks (Richardson, 2005:516).

Duggan (2002) situates this ‘homonormativity’ with processes of neoliberal governance and the ‘domestication’ of LGBTI communities. Yet, Puar (2013) extends Duggan’s critique, as ‘homonationalism’, which explains the discourse of LGBTI sexual rights to generate narratives of modernity and progress that grants some communities access to cultural and legal forms of citizenship to the detriment of other communities (Puar, 2013:25). Rather homonationalism “is the concomitant rise in the legal, consumer and representative recognition of LGBTQ [Lesbian, Gay,

Bisexual, Transgender, and Queer] subjects and the curtailing of welfare provisions, immigrant rights and the expansion of state power...the narrative of progress for gay rights is...built on the back of racialised and sexualized others” (Puar, 2013:26).

The call for human rights intersects with discourses of legality and progress. This has contributed to formations of queerness beyond a global identity, but incorporates a discursive and legal component that relies on the frame of human rights. According to Stychin, “we have witnessed a globalization of human rights, whereby human rights become...‘the pervasive criteria’ by which nations approach a universal standard of civilization, progress, and modernity...But there is another globalization move that has occurred: the universalizing of same-sex sexualities as identities” (Stychin, 2004:954).

These two globalisations merge. For Stychin, “the universalizing language of human rights neatly fits the globalizing movement of sexual identity” (Stychin, 2004:954). In the Western context, queer identity has become further aligned with domesticity and consumption. This works to ‘normalise’ homosexuality by incorporating it into normative models of the family, with economic consumptive patterns and citizenship. In many ways the normalisation of homosexuality and employment of human rights, more than private sexual practices, creates a ‘global identity’ that can be circulated and reproduced. Consequently, the dissemination of this global form produces tensions at the local level and contributes to the nationalist frame of the PC movement in the Ugandan context.

Local constructions of African sexuality and the global frame of human rights are not independent of each other. As these conflicting discourses interact they produce sites of tension that help explain the rise of restrictive legislation throughout sub-Saharan Africa. While an understating of the broader frame of sexuality has been considered, both ‘traditional’ African sexuality and global LGBTI identity, the next section considers the specific context of analysis, Uganda.

*The Interaction of Competing Frames of Sexuality in the Ugandan Public*

As demonstrated by Hoad *et al.* (2005) and Engelke (1999) human rights discourse fails to properly reflect African *private* practices and self-identifications of homosexuality. The discourse of human rights and sexual citizenship requires a more bounded sexual categorisation for rights to be extended in the first place. As sexuality is the latest inclusion within the scope of human rights, nationalist discourse originating from African leaders and religious institutions perceive gay rights to be a threat to local autonomy, reinforced as the “point of origin [of gay rights discourse] is outside the space, norms, and psyche of the nation and their mode of circulation is... embedded as it is in Western nongovernmental organisations (NGOs), Western-funded local NGOs, universalist human rights discourse, and problems of Third World development at the state level” (Hoad *et al.*, 2005:561).

When a discourse of human rights is used “it partly, and in very specialized ways, denationalizes a national law system” (Sassen, 2007:77). According to Sassen this demonstrates that “components of the national rule of law that once served to build the strength of the national state, are today contributing to the formation of transnational jurisdictions” that strengthen global discourses, like LGBTI claims for human rights, while destabilising state authority (Sassen, 2008:65). In Uganda homosexuality is portrayed as an external threat and learned—rather than intrinsic—behaviour. While early missionary accounts portray homosexuality as a practice that was taught to Africans by Arab traders, this depiction inherently infantilises Ugandans, and renders the occurrence of homosexuality a cultural construct. Other accounts document the ‘immoral’ practice, only to demonstrate the role that Christianity played in curbing the ‘perversion’. This narrative is particularly relevant to collective re-imaginings of the Ugandan Martyrs by the Catholic community [see Chapter II].

A staple of contemporary Ugandan narratives relies on positioning Western homosexuals coming to recruit young Africans in schools, where children are away from home and vulnerable.<sup>32</sup> These narratives coalesce with numerous contemporary

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<sup>32</sup> See Appendix B.

factors and justifications and promote a monolithic vision of a ‘heteronormative’ Ugandan sexual identity. Among some of the contributing factors include the global influence of American evangelicals, the historical erasure of traditional or divergent sexual practices by locals, and the perceived looming threat that the growth and acceptance of homosexuality holds for the youth (Oliver, 2013).

The latter is particularly clear in PC discourse that promotes the production of a new generation of born-again leaders (Gusman, 2009). The youth are charged with changing the nation, and the Pentecostal drive to form a transformative generation requires protecting the children from external threats. The Ugandan public regularly underscores the need to ‘protect’ children from the immorality, paedophilia, and sodomy, which are synonymous in the Ugandan public sphere with homosexuality.

As emerged from the analysis of discourse from sermons, interviews and statements in the local press, for the growing Pentecostal community homosexuality is seen as a direct threat to the establishment of this new generation, a generation that they hope will consist of charismatic leaders who can transform the country as they have transformed themselves. In the same vein, disease—like HIV/AIDS—stands in parallel. HIV/AIDS and homosexuality represent spiritual corruption, and both can be healed through the Holy Spirit. This perceived ‘crisis of fertility’—threats to establishing a transformative generation—speaks to other underlying anxieties in Uganda. Anxieties about the creation of a prosperous generation can be seen as either a reaction to or a catalyst of concerns over the depopulation of the African continent. In addition to homosexuality, other perceived ‘Western’ values contribute to local understandings of population control by the West. Abortion, condoms, and feminism all threaten the creation of a new prosperous generation, while ‘moral degradation’ undermines the next generation’s abundant future.<sup>33</sup>

With re-imaged ‘moral’ discourse saturating the public sphere, it is important to understand the socio-political context and history of HIV intervention in Uganda [see Chapter II], which created space for discourses from civil society organisations

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<sup>33</sup> Moral degradation is framed in PC discourse as the state of Ugandan society, sexual impurity, poverty and other social ills reveal the moral condition of the nation.



beyond the state, like the PC and LGBTI communities. Voices from civil society actors, like PCCs, influence public policy and intervention, and ultimately processes of political governance and the construction of citizenship.

Rejecting homosexuality is internally seen in terms of African nationalism. The AHB is a culmination of the numerous historical factors that have defined the regulation of sexuality in the African sub-continent [see Chapter II], as “modernity, tradition, colonialism, sovereignty, donor rule and democracy” are inextricable from the debate (Oinas, 2011:2). Ugandan politicians and African leaders define an ‘authentic’ African as a heterosexual African, and national identity is a subtext of the legislation. Ugandan legislators see national sovereignty threatened and foreign denunciations of the Bill reinforce the question of the ability of Ugandans to define their own policy and nation. Consequently, it is necessary to consider the Legislation in depth.

### ***The Anti-Homosexuality Legislation***

Thirty-eight African countries have laws in place that criminalise homosexuality. Most of the laws prohibiting ‘acts of sodomy’ are the vestiges of colonial regimes. In Uganda homosexuality was first made illegal under the colonial administration with the Penal Code Act of 1950. Under the offences to morality section, the act defines unnatural offences as “any person who—has carnal knowledge of any person against the order of nature; has carnal knowledge of an animal; or permits a male person to have carnal knowledge of him or her against the order of nature, commits an offence and is liable to imprisonment for life” (Uganda Penal Code, 1950: Chapter XIV).

In 2009 MP David Bahati introduced the AHB, sparking widespread international condemnation along with threats of discontinued foreign aid. Among the international response, Sweden threatened to withdraw nearly £31 million of annual aid if the legislation passed (BBC, 23/12/2009). The AHB extends the existing penal code and creates extreme penalties for the ‘practice’ of homosexuality, which previously had no “comprehensive provision catering for anti homosexuality...and lacks provisions for penalizing the procurement, promoting, disseminating literature

and other pantographic [*sic*] [pornographic] materials” (Anti-Homosexuality Bill, 2009). In its original form the Bill sought to:

Establish a comprehensive consolidated legislation to protect the traditional family by prohibiting (i) any form of sexual relations between persons of the same sex; and (ii) the promotion or recognition of such sexual relations in public institutions and other places through or with the support of any Government entity in Uganda or any non governmental organization inside or outside the country. This Bill aims at strengthening the nation’s capacity to deal with emerging internal and external threats to the traditional heterosexual family. The legislation further recognizes the fact that same sex attraction is not an innate and immutable characteristic. The Bill further aims at providing a comprehensive and enhanced legislation to protect the cherished culture of the people of Uganda, legal, religious, and traditional family values of the people of Uganda against the attempts of sexual rights activists seeking to impose their values of sexual promiscuity on the people of Uganda. There is also a need to protect the children and youths of Uganda who are made vulnerable to sexual abuse and deviation as a result of cultural change, uncensored information technologies, parentless child developmental settings and increasing attempts by homosexuals to raise children in homosexual relationships through adoption, foster care, or otherwise (Anti-Homosexuality Bill, 2009).

In the original draft cases of ‘aggravated homosexuality’—defined as when one participant is under the age of 18, HIV-positive, disabled or a ‘serial offender’—could be punishable with death. The original Bill was shelved in 2011, but was retabled in February of 2012—with the death penalty removed—and passed by the Ugandan Parliament in December 2013. In February 2014 President Museveni signed the legislation into law. However, debate is on going and in August 2014 it was overruled by a Ugandan constitutional court.

The reasons behind its dismissal reveal the tensions between human rights and ‘tradition’. The AHB was deemed invalid because of a “technicality”—Parliament lacked quorum when the Bill was voted upon—and MPs were quick to announce that a near identical form of the Legislation was intended for re-proposal. MP Latif Sebagala stated, “we will take whatever time is required to make sure that the future of our children is protected, the family is protected and the sovereignty of our nation.

The issues of technicalities is not a big deal to anybody. But the big deal...is that homosexuality is not a human right here in Uganda” (Sebagala quoted in Ohlheiser, 5/8/2014).

Such legislative initiatives are not isolated to Uganda. Burundi and Rwanda drafted similar legislation. Unlike Uganda, the non-British colonial governments of Burundi and Rwanda never incorporated sodomy laws into the penal code. Consequently, both nations drafted similar legislation in an effort to criminalise the ‘offence’. While the bill passed in Burundi, in Rwanda the Minister of Justice, Tharicisse Karugarama, claimed the Rwandese government “cannot and will not in any way criminalise homosexuality...[and that sexuality] is not a State matter at all” but a private one (Karugarama quoted in Kisia & Wahu, 2010:11).

Unlike Rwanda, Burundi is a country known for its intimate ties to Pentecostal-Charismatic Christianity. The president, Pierre Nkurunziza, is a born-again Christian, and he regularly conducts national prayer services. In 2008 invited the Uganda Pentecostal-Charismatic pastor and founder of the *Miracle Centre Cathedral* [see Chapter IV], Robert Kayanja, to preach in a four-day healing crusade (New Vision, 6/9/2008). For Nkurunziza, his born-again conversion granted him and his nation a more abundant existence. According to Nkurunziza, “in [my] years of leading this country, God has given us peace [...] let us dedicate our country to God because we cannot thrive on our own. We ask God to touch our hands and pray for blessings on all Burundians” (Nkurunziza quoted in New Vision, 6/9/2008).

While the Burundian Senate voted overwhelmingly against the Bill, the lower house reversed the decision and the President himself signed it into law. Jeremie Ngendakumana, the ruling party’s chairman, issued the following statement after both international and national denouncements, “homosexuality is a sin. It is a culture which has been imported to sully our morals and is practiced by immoral people...if we love our country, if we love our culture, we must ban this practice which will draw only misfortune for us” (AFP quoted in Towel Road, 9/3/2009).

*The History of the AHB*

Bahati claims homosexuality poses a danger to the children of Uganda (CBS News, 2012). The AHB was initially championed by charismatic clerics, like Solomon Male and Martin Ssempe, but they have attempted to distance themselves after a slew of negative international press. According to Male, “I’ve rejected it because it does not address Uganda’s homosexuality problem...the system can’t permit any good law to be enforced...it’s a big problem—homosexuals are in our schools, in our churches, everywhere, and we don’t even know where to start” (*ibid*).

The LGBTI movement—and subsequent backlash—has grown in Uganda throughout the past ten years. For many members of the LGBTI community the Legislation is a direct result of the progress gay and lesbian groups were making throughout Uganda, establishing a small but marginal voice within the public sphere. For Tamale, “this wave of homophobia was [first] triggered by a recommendation emanating from a section of the women’s movement that urged the proposed Equal Opportunities Commission to address the rights of homosexuals as members of the category of marginalized social groups in Uganda” (Tamale, 2007:17).

The request for equal rights resulted in vitriolic attacks in the press against human rights activist and law professor at Makerere University, Sylvia Tamale. Press attacks called for the lynching of Tamale while friends sent her messages congratulating her on her “millions” (Tamale, 2007:17).<sup>34</sup> Following the public outcry, in 2005 President Museveni passed a constitutional amendment prohibiting same-sex marriage, declaring marriage only lawful when “entered into between a man and a woman” (HRW, 2006).

In the public sphere tabloids like the *Red Pepper* (2007, 2009, 2011, 2012) and the now defunct *Rolling Stone* (2010) ran frequent articles warning the public about the homosexual threat. Both offer vivid accounts of foreign visitors who recruit Ugandan men and women into the homosexual lifestyle. In 2006 the *Red Pepper* published the names of 45 alleged homosexuals, including their workplaces, “to show the

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<sup>34</sup> This speaks to a common assumption in Uganda that the homosexual community in Europe and North America finances LGBTI activism abroad to facilitate the spread of LGBTI ideology.

nation...how fast the terrible vice known as sodomy is eating up our society” (Red Pepper, 2006).

According to the editor of the *Rolling Stone*, “we felt there was need for society to know that such characters exist amongst them. Some of them recruit young children into homosexuality, which is bad and need to be exposed...they take advantage of poverty to recruit Ugandans. In brief we did so because homosexuality is illegal, unacceptable and insults our traditional lifestyle” (Rolling Stone, 2010). The perception was that the “the public seemed to think that there was a network of homosexual organizations ‘out there’ with an explicit agenda to ‘recruit’ young African men and women into their ‘decadent, perverted habits’” (HRW, 2006:1).

Such denouncements are not relegated to tabloids alone. The leading government owned newspaper, the *New Vision*, urged for a police investigation of homosexuality, “the police should visit the holes mentioned in the press, spy on the perverts, arrest and prosecute them. Relevant government departments must outlaw or restrict websites, magazines, newspapers and television channels promoting immorality—including homosexuality, lesbianism, pornography, etc.” (HRW, 2006). This article was followed with government officials raiding the home of Victor Mukesa, the Chairperson of Sexual Minorities Uganda (SMUG), where they seized documents and arrested another LGBTI activist (*ibid*).

Members of the LGBTI community in Uganda claim the AHB was first introduced after a March 2009 conference in Kampala, which included members of the North American ‘ex-gay’ movement (Reuters, June 2012).<sup>35</sup> American evangelical Scott Lively, president of the Abiding Truth Ministries and co-author of the book *The Pink Swastika*, which makes claims that homosexuals are the “true inventors of Nazism and the guiding force behind many Nazi atrocities” (Abrams & Lively, 1995:1), has been linked to the Legislation. In 2009, Lively along with Don Schmierer of Exodus International and Caleb Lee Brundidge of International Healing Foundation—all

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<sup>35</sup> The ‘ex-gay’ movement is comprised of evangelical Christians who claim to be ‘healed’ homosexuals.

Americans—delivered a “nuclear bomb against the ‘gay’ agenda in Uganda” where he claimed AIDS was a punishment from God (Political Research Associates, 2009).

Shortly before the Legislation was introduced Lively wrote about his Ugandan mission in great detail on the website Defend the Family:

I’m writing from Kampala, Uganda where I am teaching about the ‘gay’ agenda in churches, schools, colleges, community groups and in Parliament...my week began with a meeting with about fifty members of the Ugandan Christian Lawyers Association on the evening of my arrival, then an address to members of the Parliament...There were from fifty to one hundred persons in attendance, including numerous legislators and the Minister of Ethics and Integrity...the centerpiece event was a three-day conference...we gave two seminars at Kampala Pentecostal Church [Watoto], to a combined total of about 2,000... Uganda is an important target for the ‘gays’ because of its internationally-renowned victory over AIDS through abstinence campaigns...On the positive side, my host and ministry partner in Kampala, Stephen Langa, was overjoyed with the results of our efforts and predicted confidently that the coming weeks would see significant improvement in the moral climate of the nation, and a massive increase in pro-family activism in every sphere (Defend the Family, 2009).

Stephen Langa is a prominent member of *Watoto Church* (what Lively refers to Kampala Pentecostal Church) and the founder of the Family Life Network (FLN) in Kampala, an organisation directly linked to the promotion of the Legislation [see Chapter VI]. His organisation received funds from the U.N. supported Global Fund (Time, 9/12/2009). Langa spoke at the 2009 conference, with a presentation on “The Gay Agenda,” in which he warned of the “homosexual plot to take over the world” (*ibid*). Also in attendance was Pastor Martin Ssempe, of *One Love* [see Chapter V]. Ssempe’s HIV initiatives have also received international funding. The Campus Alliance to Wipe Out AIDS was allocated a portion of the 15 million U.S. dollars of PEPFAR through the Inter-Religious Council of Uganda to fight HIV/AIDS with his abstinence-minded education (*ibid*).

Shortly after the Bill was brought before the Ugandan Parliament, the *Rolling Stone* published the full names, addresses, and photographs of both prominent and

suspected homosexuals, accompanied with a call to “hang them” all, and an alleged tag line “we shall recruit 100,000 innocent kids by 2012: Homos...parents now face heart-breaks [*sic*] as homos raid schools” (Guardian, 27/1/2011). In January 2011 David Kato, a prominent LGBTI activist in Uganda was murdered, bludgeoned to death in his own home. Kato was among one of the activists to bring a lawsuit against the *Rolling Stone* for its publication of people’s names and addresses (*ibid*).

In February 2012 the Minister of Ethics and Integrity, Simon Lokodo, broke up an LGBTI event for ‘illegally gathering’. In June, Lokodo attempted to ban 30 NGOs accused of promoting homosexuality (BBC, 20/6/2012). The Directorate for Ethics and Integrity is within the office of the president, promoting a future for Uganda that includes a “well government and prosperous society that cherishes moral values and principles” (Ministry of Ethics Interview, June 2012). In February 2014 President Museveni signed the AHB into law. Its passage was met with widespread enthusiasm from the Ugandan public. A celebration was held at the national stadium, and over 30,000 Ugandans attended (Guardian, 2/4/2014). Speaking to the crowd President Museveni explained that anal sex takes place at the “wrong address” (*ibid*). His words held a double meaning. Anal sex occurs at the ‘wrong address’, and Uganda is the ‘wrong address’ for homosexuality.

While the graphic discussions of sex seem out of place in the Ugandan context, as sex is relegated to the private sphere, the frankness with which homosexuality was addressed is revealing. It demonstrates two important considerations, first the sexualisation of the public sphere and second the significance of tradition. As illustrated, HIV opened up the public sphere for discussions of both sex and, subsequently, sexuality. Yet, the ability to engage with homosexuality so openly illuminates local understandings of homosexuality.

Homosexuality is not ‘traditional’ African sexuality, therefore it is not conventionally understood as ‘sex’. The employment of tradition liberates the public sphere for open discussions of homosexuality. In the frame of ‘tradition’ sexuality is relegated to the private, the separation between *homosexuality* and sex allows

homosexuality a public presence. Museveni's words further illustrate the disconnect, "there is a fundamental misunderstanding between us and the liberal west...they say homosexuality is sex. But it is not sex...there are other words [in Luganda] for sex...but if you take homosexuality, they [Ugandans] don't call it sex. They call it *ekifire*" (Guardian, 2/4/2014).<sup>36</sup> In this respect discussions of homosexuality in the public sphere are not at odds with the private-public binary inscribed in the frame of tradition, to describe homosexuality—regardless of the graphic detail employed—is merely describing any other form of sin.

The AHB is beyond a symptom of indigenous homophobia. It stems from both historical and contemporary factors, as Ugandan public sentiment concerning homosexuality has evolved from multiple inter-tangled narratives originating from the time Catholics and Anglicans denounced the sexual 'perversions' of the Kabaka [see Chapter II]. Today historical remnants are further buoyed by the dominance of vitriolic public attacks denouncing its practice. Local PC churches promote public homophobic sentiment.

The AHB reflects the ubiquity of Pentecostal-Charismatic discourse. Homosexuality is a threat to the Pentecostal project. The nationalist aims of PCCs are intertwined with sexuality and citizenship. This is evident in what constitutes a 'true' Ugandan, as political and religious messages around homosexuality suggest the practice is a threat to both national identity and progress and is at odds with tradition. In the PC community and the Ugandan public sphere, homosexuality is the embodiment of cultural imperialism, where "being gay is European culture, that it is un-African...there is this idea that Europeans and Americans are recruiting people to be gay, giving them money to do it" (Guardian, 27/1/2011). In the PC nationalist project the use of tradition is vital, and as a result sexuality has changed the way PCCs engage with tradition, and the way the postcolonial state engages with sexuality.

To form a prosperous nation Uganda needs a sexually 'pure' population, free from disease and promiscuity. PCCs have assigned themselves the job of healing the land

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<sup>36</sup> *Ekifire* translates to zombie or half-dead.



and making order out of the perceived chaos. PC discourse constitutes the Ugandan public sphere, impacting processes of political governance, and the extension of citizenship and belonging in Uganda. Now that the competing frames of sexuality—global human rights and local tradition—have been elaborated examination can turn to the four churches under consideration. The next chapter presents the case of *Miracle Centre Cathedral*.

## CHAPTER IV

### MIRACLE CENTRE CATHEDRAL: CLAIM YOUR *MIRACLE*

#### Global Glamour, Wealth & Health

*“If we want a great revival in Uganda all we have to do is magnify the Lord. This year do not plan small when you are going to build something for God magnify the Lord...the days of mediocrity [are] over in your life.”*

*Pastor Robert Kayanja (Miracle Participant Observation, March 2012)*

*Miracle Centre Cathedral* in the Rubaga district of Kampala, is the self-ascribed largest Pentecostal-Charismatic Church in all of East Central Africa. It was founded by the prominent Pastor Robert Kayanja—brother of the Anglican Archbishop of York, John Sentamu—and his media-savvy wife, Pastor Jessica. Kayanja was called into ministry at the age of seventeen and in merely five-years had founded his own church. In contrast to the other churches under consideration, *Miracle* emphasises global incorporation and material accumulation often associated with PC Christianity.

While these elements prove appealing to its impressive congregation, *Miracle's* tenets stand at odds with the strategy of nation building promoted by the other examples, largely due to its emphasis on a more globally aligned identity. In recent years *Miracle* has received a wave of negative publicity and has been accused of homosexuality or sodomy in the local press, largely spurred by Pastor Martin Ssempe of *One Love Church* [see Chapter V]. While the allegations can be interpreted as an attempt to delegitimise the prosperous church in a competitive religious market, *Miracle* has come to represent a more global alignment. Public criticisms of the church beyond competition are a rejection of the global. *Miracle's* external associations are framed to undermine local identity and moral integrity in the eyes of the PC community.

This chapter explores how *Miracle's* association with the global works to undermine its message of revival for competing PCCs, while demonstrating the discordant nature of PC discourse in the public sphere. The 'rejection' of *Miracle* represents the refusal of external influence, central to PC strategies of nation building. As a distinctly global church *Miracle* represents the perceived incorporation of external qualities that undermine the nationalist project, like homosexuality.

Secondly the chapter elucidates the non-uniformity of PC messages in the public sphere to render the consistencies more apparent, particularly the PC frame of homosexuality and project of national transformation to reveal changes in the nature of the Ugandan state, the construction and negotiation of citizenship and the indistinct boundaries between the religious and the secular. As the means of transformation amongst churches diverge—for example *Miracle* emphasises wealth, while the other examples stress political participation and sexual purity—the necessity to establish a more cohesive PC and thus national identity is further illuminated, helping to uncover the narrow construction of PC citizenship applied to the national level. This highlights the necessity for PCCs to reconstruct tradition as a means to unify the nation, as *Miracle* is positioned outside of the bounds of 'authentic' PC and thus Ugandan identity.

While *Miracle* seeks the same revival, its strategies often conflict with the other churches under consideration, while its associations with the 'global' have undermined the church for other members of the fragmented PC community. Nevertheless the influence of *Miracle* is profound, and it demonstrates consistencies found in the other churches under consideration. *Miracle* engages with time by reinscribing the past and incorporating 'tradition' in the construction of a broader collective identity for future prosperity. Forms of governmentality, which work to discipline individual behaviour and form a productive citizenry, are consistent in all four churches.

The chapter begins with an overview of *Miracle Centre* by depicting a typical Sunday service. An outline of the structure and subsidiary ministries then follows,

particularly *Girl Power*, in order to understand the emphasis on the global, articulated through a frame of glamour and abundance. This is followed with an exploration of *Miracle's* interpretation of the prosperity gospel and how *Miracle's* focus on wealth and health has brought both success and public ridicule. The third section considers the other main focus at *Miracle*, faith healing, to demonstrate how sexuality and disease represent impediments to national progress, a consistency shared by all of the churches under consideration. The chapter concludes with a discussion of sexuality, scandal, and corruption in the public sphere as it pertains to *Miracle Centre* in order to understand the frame of homosexuality and how *Miracle's* global orientation has undermined its 'authenticity' in the eyes of the other churches.

This chapter locates the discussion of *Miracle Centre Cathedral* in a broader consideration of impediments to national progress, specifically immorality. Overall each church under consideration positions morality as a central element to national progress, or the country's spiritual, physical, economic, and political *salvation*. However, because of the doctrinal diversity found within PCCs, the cases evaluated all maintain different perspectives on *how* to properly *magnify* or *exalt* the nation to God, and some perspectives prove at odds with each other.

### ***Miracle Centre: An Overview***

Central to the *Miracle Centre* narrative of transformation are its humble roots, beginning over twenty-five years ago. Starting the ministry out of a makeshift building in "an acquired city house yard" the church now operates from an impressive compound set in verdant grounds. It has established over a thousand churches throughout Uganda. Understandably, Senior Pastor Robert Kayanja is proud of *Miracle's* transformation from a papyrus building or *biwempe* to a seven million U.S. dollar auditorium that can house eleven thousand worshippers. He has hosted evangelists from across the world. This accomplishment was achieved debt free (Charisma Magazine, 31/10/2002). The church's construction was partially financed—3.5 million U.S. dollars—by a South Korean woman that Kayanja healed

from a comatose state (*ibid*). For Kayanja, *Miracle's* transformation is not limited to his church or individual healing but reveals the true destiny of his nation, a consistent subject of Sunday sermons.

On a typical Sunday a broad array of parishioners—from the very young to the very old—await the mid-morning service. Standing outside the massive white auditorium worshipers warmly exchange greetings beneath the mid-morning sun. After patiently waiting for the early morning service to end and the doors to open —this is just one of four Sunday services in total—the eager crowd files through the multiple entrances to claim one of the plastic chairs that line the massive auditorium. Services are invigorating and alive, taking the form of a concert for at least an hour before the sermon begins.

The performers are young and fashionable. Boy bands in stylish jeans with bright sneakers breakdance. Perfectly coiffed women in towering heels then take turns in front of the congregation. They dance and sing in perfect synchronicity as their voices harmonize about salvation. The choice of dress is consistent, aligning *Miracle* with modernity and youth. The dress states to parishioners that being born-again can live in tandem with a 'modern' self.

After the often-famous guest performers, the *Miracle* choir in matching satin robes, takes the stage. The choirmaster, and lead performer is fortified with the Holy Spirit, jumping and singing, arms outstretched. His form can never quite be captured. The chaotic movement does not cease and he endures through the long performance, his voice cracking from heavy use. Young families sit in the audience, and in spite of being in church for at least two hours the children remain well behaved, dancing and praying with their parents. When the choir sings the children also sing, rejoicing in the words they have long memorised.

Pastor Robert takes the stage, or if he is away on a missionary trip to one of the 68 countries where he has staged a mass *Miracle Crusade*, one of his many junior pastors presides over the sermon (Kayanja Ministries, 2010). Throughout the service

a good number of the congregation is taken with the Holy Spirit. While this is expressed in numerous ways, the majority display the charismatic gift of *glossolalia*, or speaking in tongues.<sup>37</sup> Some gently rock in their chairs seated quietly, speaking their “sacred language” (Coleman, 1996), while for others their manifestations of the Holy Spirit are more pronounced. Pacing, falling to the ground, and even seizing, their bodies convulsing in what at times mirrors an epileptic fit. Yet, within the church it is a sign of their devotion and direct connection to God. The Holy Spirit lives within their corporeal vessel for they are saved.

The sermon itself keeps a consistent focus on healing and economic prosperity. This is achieved by the pastor reciting vague decontextualised lines of scripture reinforced with a simplified mantra the audience can repeat—weekly slogans such as ‘We are bursting the belly of the devil’ or ‘We are running with our miracle’. Tangible strategies of transformation like those of *Watoto* are absent [see Chapter VI]. At *Miracle* the way to amass fortune and good health is merely through an infusion of the Holy Spirit.

Sermons position the *Miracle* version of PC Christianity alongside a distinct hybrid identity of ‘modern globalism’ and tradition. Pastor Robert himself has adopted an American southern cadence to his style of preaching, pausing and emphasising each syllable’s crescendo. His dress expresses both a direct association with the global world and opulence. Typically an oversized silk tunic hangs to his knees paired with freshly pressed linen trousers, working to accentuate his tall frame. Or he may affect a well-tailored suit.

Kayanja’s lavish dress is far removed from his humble beginnings in the central Ugandan town of Masooli. The son of a preacher, Kayanja’s narrative depicts a man who overcame his hardships and was preordained by God for his earthly calling,

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<sup>37</sup> During the feast of Pentecost Galilean disciples spoke in tongues “as the Holy Ghost gave them to speak” (KJV Acts 2:1-15). Glossolalia subsequently occurred in Caesarea, Palaestina, Ephesus, and Corinth. Glossolalia is one of the divine gifts, “now there are diversities of gifts, but the same Spirit...diversities of tongues... For he that speaketh in an unknown tongue speaketh not unto men, but unto God: for no man understandeth him; howbeit in the spirit he speaketh mysteries” (KJV 1 Corinthians 12-14).

demonstrating the centrality of destiny at *Miracle*. He came from a place where “people lived with no hope...his birth being a miracle in itself foretold what kind man he was later to become. A life and death decision had to be made-whether to save him or his mother, but God was timely and delivered then both eventually. Having survived death, he still was born with a stutter” (Kayanja Ministries, 2010). Yet, with Divine intervention he persevered. As a result, destiny is heavily intertwined with the *Miracle* perspective. Believers can fulfil their destinies as well with the help of *Miracle* and the Holy Spirit, and numerous church events and merchandise are offered to help manifest individual transformation.

Beyond Sunday services, *Miracle* holds regular events throughout the week. Prayer meetings are offered four days a week, a mid-week service, a regular Friday overnight prayer lock-in, counselling sessions, and four *Morning Glory* prayer services reinforce the church in the lives of its congregation. In addition to the busy weekly schedule—and further disseminating discourse beyond church walls—more than any other church under consideration *Miracle* relies on merchandise like DVDs, CDs, and books. The *Miracle* brand is reinforced by heavily utilising technology, highly produced videos, and an interactive website with a live chat forum. Its extensive range of merchandise is offered for sale at both church services and online.

In addition to its wide selection of merchandise the *Miracle* website accepts online donations, as well as testimonies and prayer requests from around the world. *Miracle* fully utilises both new and old forms of media. Pastor Kayanja has written over twenty books and is a regular speaker and the director of the *Miracle TV Channel*, *Miracle*’s Christian television station broadcasts from the church complex. Not to be excluded a *Miracle Radio* station is on site as well, reaching Ugandans who do not own televisions. Yet, *Miracle* is not only merchandise and technology. It includes numerous departments and subsidiary ministries as well.

#### *The Branches of Miracle*

In 1998 *Miracle Bible College* was started with a small group of thirty-two students. The college has since grown to include over eight hundred alumni, and now offers a

two-year diploma programme and certificate package. College specialisations include Leadership, Music, and Media, as well as a choice of independent majors. The college's vision is stated on the website:

God's visitations on this campus have brought many to a realisation of an ever present-omnipotent [*sic*] power, consequently [*sic*] transforming the lives of people in all dimensions of life. The purpose of *Miracle Bible College* is to raise up God fearing people, full of character, a people who believe 'there is a God'. At the MBC your life never stays the same, it only gets better (Kayanja Ministries, 2010).

In addition to the *Bible College* the ministry is divided into various departments and subsidiaries. The *Youth Distinction Ministry* (YDM) is a department aimed at reaching young people within the country "with the miracle working power of God... 'how can a young man keep his way pure? By living according to your word' Psalms 119 [KJV]" (Kayanja Ministries, 2010). A part of the YDM is *The Righteous Invasion of Truth* or *R.I.O.T.* with the goal to avail "young people with an opportunity to communicate and air their concerns to the world besides their own" (*ibid*). *R.I.O.T.* holds annual conferences aimed at inspiring youth by allowing the up-and-coming generation to network and be mentored by peers and elders.

Another department within the ministry is *CONTAGIOUS*. It acts within colleges and universities throughout the country, catering to students between the ages of eighteen and twenty-five. In the spirit of a "common cold or virus...this *Holy Ghost* fire movement never dies out once you catch it. So young grown-ups in institutions of higher learning go on to bring the gospel to their fellow mates in miraculous and wondrous ways" (Kayanja Ministries, 2010). *CONTAGIOUS* organises group events, retreats, Saturday night prayer meetings and missions for participating students. The branch consequently aims to provide an alternative to the 'immoral' options of university life.

Beyond the departments, *Miracle* is further broken into broader subsidiary ministries that operate more independently. These subsidiaries include the *Kapeeka Orphanage*, *Girl Power*, and the *Never Again Project*. Founded in 2001, *Never*



*Again* aims to transform “former street children into responsible citizens” by feeding, clothing, housing, educating, and rehabilitating street children into “miracle workers” (Kayanja Ministries, 2010).<sup>38</sup> Beyond Pastor Robert the most recognisable *Miracle* figure is his wife Pastor Jessica, who runs *Girl Power*.

#### *Global Glamour: The Girl Power Way*

Pastor Jessica studied at Makerere University, where she received a degree in international relations and international law. She also holds an honorary doctorate from the United Graduate College and Seminary in Jonesborough, Tennessee. Yet above “all her accomplishments, she considers supporting her husband in ministry and raising godly children her primary purpose” (Girl Power, 2013).

Pastor Jessica reinforces the couple’s lavish image of abundant blessing. Her form-fitting satin dresses, stockings, and soaring heels stand in stark contrast to what lies beyond the *Miracle* gates, clusters of informal settlements. Yet, the poverty that edges the crisp white walls of *Miracle Centre* can be overcome, and while Pastor Robert takes a more ambiguous spiritual approach, Pastor Jessica works in the tangible with her subsidiary ministry *Girl Power*. Founded in 2005, *Girl Power* teaches women how to dress for success and obtain the man of their dreams.

Listed as a subsidiary within the umbrella of *Kayanja Ministries*, *Girl Power* is specifically targeted to women, encouraging them to “play a complementary role rather than competitive role alongside men in transforming society...to help women discover the exceptional traits that God has endowed them with...for the greater good of society” (Girl Power, 2013).<sup>39</sup> Like the broader ministry, *Girl Power* has a crisis centre to reform homeless girls. It produces its own merchandise and hosts extravagant themed events. These events include annual conferences, complete with press and a red carpet for the arriving local celebrities. Guests arrive in elaborate—often externally oriented—dress, like the Indian themed AIDS awareness event, ‘To

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<sup>38</sup> The focus on isolation, rehabilitation, and reintegration reflects a Foucauldian framework—consistent throughout all of the churches—to produce a productive generation for the collective national future, or the greater good, and will be further explored in later chapters, especially Chapter VIII.

<sup>39</sup> See above, this mirrors a Foucauldian frame further explored in Chapter VIII.

Live or not to Leave’ or the ‘Hat Affair’, where attendees donned French berets and British fascinators. The winner for the evening’s best hat won a plane ticket to Dubai.

The events are also book launches for Pastor Jessica’s latest publication. In ‘To Live or not to Leave’, Pastor Jessica graces the book’s cover, wrapped in an embellished sari with soft backlighting washing over her, creating an ethereal effect. She is both angelic and sophisticated, aligned with the world outside of Uganda. Like *Miracle* she is with the Lord in the divine realm. However, Pastor Jessica remains here on Earth, as a globally oriented and *modern* woman.



(Fieldwork Photo, December 2011)

With Magic Johnson as her inspiration, the novel is a fictional account of an HIV-positive village girl who leads an abundant life and thrives despite her status. The story concludes with the protagonist’s triumph:

Namatovu reflected on herself; now highly educated, famous, well to do and spiritual, Namatovu has only one more resolution to make. After all, every other resolution had now become a reality. She resolved she was not going to die. She had two options and they both meant the same thing; to live and not to leave. ‘Ephraim,’ she whispered as the flight attendant signalled to her to make an attempt

to board...‘God has blessed me in this land of affliction!’ (Kayanja, 2011:114).<sup>40</sup>

The concluding paragraph reinforces the ministry’s central principles: fame, transcendence, and global alignment. *Girl Power* is not limited to elaborate events and merchandise alone. Congregants can also access Pastor Jessica directly through individual ‘Heart to Heart Sessions’. These sessions are an opportunity for Jessica to address “the issues facing women combated with practical solutions provided in the scriptures” (Girl Power, 2013). *Girl Power* condenses the glamour and global frame of *Miracle Centre*. It clearly illustrates the underlying narratives of modernity and global identities that the other churches—and public legislation regulating sexuality—are partially reacting against, while advocating for national moral transformation. Yet, above all *Girl Power* is about ‘femininity’.

The *Girl Power* logo—a delicate silhouette of a woman emerging from a flower—firmly aligns the frame of femininity advocated by the ministry. Emphasising normative feminine archetypes, *Girl Power* espouses a position that a woman’s role is to serve, support, and above all look the part. Pastor Jessica’s latest publication, *The Lady of His Dreams*, puts forth a model of femininity for adherents to strive towards, while emphasising the major role of women in *Miracle*’s version of PC Christianity, being a wife. Like all of the examples, the Platonic form offered for adherents to model themselves after is integral to enabling national progress. The materiality of the feminine form espoused at *Miracle* is telling. The emphasis on the external mirrors the necessity of a public expression of born-again faith, while private action can prove inconsistent.<sup>41</sup>

According to Pastor Jessica, “the problem of the heart is the heart of the problem...[so *Girl Power*] expounds on heart issues...from a biblical perspective...a

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<sup>40</sup> In Genesis 48 Ephraim is the younger son of Joseph and grandson of Jacob. Upon his deathbed Jacob prophesises that while Ephraim’s brother Manasseh will become the ancestor to a great nation, Ephraim is set to become the ancestor to an even greater nation. ‘Ephraim’ means to be fruitful.

<sup>41</sup> As explored in Chapter III and further in Chapter VIII, the public-private frame is implicated in homosexuality, as the movement became more ‘public’ the anti-gay movement grew in tandem, suggesting the public expression of homosexuality is being contested more than the private occurrence of homosexuality.

journey of discovering God the Father's Heart, indeed a date with destiny" (Girl Power, 2013). The statement firmly aligns *Girl Power* with the transformation and destiny found at *Miracle*, while locating women in the realm of emotions, the heart. Yet, conversely while *Miracle* highlights miraculous healing, *Girl Power* maintains a pragmatic and material approach outside of the emotional realm, coaching women on *how* to be good wives and mothers in an effort to aid in transforming Uganda. Yet, the accumulative material focus prevails and is one of the two central principles behind *Miracle Centre*.

### ***Kayanja's Gospel of Prosperity***

A central tenet of *Miracle* is displayed in the prosperity gospel, the doctrinal belief that God rewards faith through material and financial prosperity. At *Miracle* opulence, abundance, and accumulation function as striking representations of one of the central principles of the church. Not discounting adherents genuine faith—parishioners speak through scripture and maintain an intimate relationship with God—but the hope of economic mobility *and* survival greatly contribute to church attendance and belief. For in God "all things are capable...including wealth" (Miracle Participant Observation, 9/12/2012). Accordingly the sincerity of one's faith materially manifests *through* financial accumulation and consumption.

According to Marshall-Fratani "the gospel of prosperity offers a doctrine of morally controlled materialism, in which personal wealth and success is interpreted as the evidence of God's blessing on those who lead a 'true life in Christ'" (Marshall-Fratani, 1998:283). Consequently at times sermons at *Miracle* come across as vague yet inspirational financial self-help seminars rather than overt spiritual gatherings. Pastors encourage parishioners to "be the first one in your family to buy a new car. Be the first one to take a flight overseas. Go and buy a new apartment...mobilise yourselves. People don't get rich because they were born rich. They invent something and mobilise the market...envision opening a bank account and having millions of dollars" (Miracle Participant Observation, May 2012).

In contrast to *Watoto*—which offers practical financial sermons and instructions on how to open bank accounts and save—*Miracle Centre* presents more aspirational advice with less road mapping about how to arrive at financial independence [see Chapter VI]. Rather *Miracle* employs vague and ambiguous statements that direct the expectant congregation, promising its parishioners that God will “bless you in the city, you will have a better house...and you will have a bungalow in the village” while mute on exactly *how* to achieve such goals beyond prayer and the neoliberal adage to ‘mobilise the market’ (Miracle Participant Observation, January 2012). In this way *Miracle* has appropriated neoliberal conceptions and distinctly ideological Americana, which reflect ‘bootstraps’ and the ‘self-made-man’—re-imagined and localised with God by your side—romanticising God-and-self-made wealth, free-markets, innovation, and entrepreneurship.

At *Miracle* because Adam altered the state God intended for man to live, “man was ruined by Adam, [but] Jesus came to redeem us” (Miracle Participant Observation, January 2012). Salvation requires a rebirth. God made man to rule, and man’s born-again salvation gives the mortal “holy blood...it makes us kings, born into it and [re]connects us to our father” after Adam’s fall (*ibid*). According to Pastor Robert, since man is the direct expression of the Lord we must exalt ourselves.

Poverty stands at odds with our intended state, “God loves man so much because he is the expression of God. That is why when we live in poverty, sickness, and disease we are not representing” His image (Miracle Participant Observation, March 2012). This belief intersects with a literal interpretation of scripture. In John 10:10 (KJV) Jesus came to Earth so that man could have life, “and have it abundantly”. Consequently that abundance is directly interpreted—abundance in the afterlife and abundance in the here and now.

During a sermon entitled *Abundant Life* Pastor Robert related this anecdote to a full church:

What kind of life is God talking about when he said you shall have life more abundantly? We measure life based on the things we see. Yesterday I saw a picture of me, we were thinking about pictures for a magazine, and there was a picture one of the guys showed me of a car with a personalised license plate that said *ghetto*. One of the guys said this car is great it is made custom. I said that it is not made that car is nine-years-old, it is a Cadillac. Everybody thinks it is brand new. I said no people just cut stuff and put it together, it is a nine-year-old car. But because it is in an environment where we've never seen such cars before we think that it is wonderful. But if you take it somewhere else it is not wonderful...Are we measuring our abundant lives based on the lives we've seen in Kampala, in Uganda, or elsewhere? (Miracle Participant Observation, January 2012).

Kayanja's words engage with the consumptive spirit and visual emphasis of his church, while encouraging believers to adopt a global context. Using specifically North American and Western referencing and terminology—Cadillac and *ghetto*—Kayanja encourages his believers to compare their lives to not just fellow Ugandans but Westerners. *Miracle* prompts its congregation to transcend context and become incorporated into the global economy.

At *Miracle* the biggest impediment to financial prosperity is you. For “the greatest enemy is your thinking, remove old thinking” and anything is possible (Miracle Participant Observation, August 2012). In contrast to other churches under consideration the theological depth and societal commentary of church sermons focuses on the material. As “We measure life based on the things we see”, *Miracle* tends to rely on the visual to convey their message (*ibid*).

The prosperity gospel operates as both an overt discourse and an embedded subtext. *Miracle* applauds excess while promising financial gain. The indulgent events invite parishioners to show off costly and unusual clothing. Expensive assortments of cakes and fruits decorate the gilded interior of the church. The well-manicured and lush gardens and executive offices stand in contrast to the more modest grounds of the

surrounding churches, and *Miracle* boasts its own buses to help transport parishioners.

Pastor Robert and Pastor Jessica urge churchgoers to buy DVDs and books to aid spiritual development, while referencing cars, homes, and international travel. The gospel of prosperity at *Miracle Centre* is all-inclusive, promising more than spiritual transformation, offering aspirational lifestyles. In the process *Miracle* has established itself as a lifestyle brand. Discourse in the form of sermons, electronic and paper ephemera, and visual imagery promise to teach you *how* to live. The [co]overt narrative of prosperity begins in the technological showpiece of *Miracle Centre*—the website—a site that eclipses other churches in Kampala in materiality, consumption, and technological sophistication, including the North American aligned and financially solvent *Watoto* [see Chapter VI].

An important step in acquiring this lifestyle is the necessity placed on tithing and almsgiving. Consequently, membership at *Miracle* is possible anywhere in the world with the help of technology. The website offers believers the opportunity to partner with Kayanja Ministries:

More and more testimonies continue to pour in because the message of the cross is being preached and heard. But more importantly because the message is true and real. Restoration, healing and deliverance is taking place every minute around the globe in His awesome name. Souls are being saved. So being a partner with Robert Kayanja Ministries guarantees you being a partaker of the rewards together with all the other ‘laborers in the Lord’s vineyard’. There are uncountable promises for a fulfilled life of such as heed His call; ‘*if you be willing and obedient, you shall eat the good of the land...*’ Isaiah 1:19 (KJV) (Kayanja Ministries, 2010).

Partners are expected to attend local meetings, pray for Pastor Kayanja and his ministries, provide monthly financial support—“‘not because I desire a gift: but I desire fruit that may abound to your account’ (Philippians 4:17 KJV)”—and name their “seed [to] expect an abundant harvest” (Kayanja Ministries, 2010). In exchange *Miracle* provides daily prayers, sends monthly emails, and takes the responsibility of being good stewards to “operate with integrity and excellence as we take this gospel

to the world” (Kayanja Ministries, 2010). Partnerships connect believers to “the anointing...so they, too, can prosper spiritually, socially, mentally, physically, emotionally and financially” (*ibid*).

The extravagance of the church structure and financial discourse is predicated on ‘magnifying’ God. According to Pastor Robert not only does Kampala provide a competitive religious market as Christian churches and PCCs compete for parishioners, but a rivalry is present between Christians and other faiths in an effort to validate and exalt the *one true* God. Pastor Robert explained this competitive environment and the role of financial giving:

There are all these gods in the whole world, and people with these gods have a way they magnify their god...but we don’t know how to magnify our God. If we want a great revival in Uganda all we have to do is magnify the Lord, and we magnify through thanksgiving...If we don’t magnify the Lord, Muslims will do, Krishna will do, they are more prosperous than the people of God. When you look at the Chinese in Uganda they put the dragon outside the building...they magnify their god because once you magnify your god he will create, intensify his ability in your location...The god of African witchcraft is no god, Buddha is no god, Hindu is no god, our God is the real God, we will magnify the Lord...it takes corporate anointing to magnify God” (Miracle Participant Observation, December 2011).

Public displays of wealth—particularly by the church—are vital in demonstrating not only God’s favour but also represent a victory over the presence of demonic spirits and false gods. The visual emphasis signifies that Uganda is growing in prominence in the global economy.

The visual emphasis was reinforced during the 2004 dedication ceremony, celebrating the construction of the church. An estimated fifteen thousand Ugandans attended, including President Museveni and the First Lady (New Vision, 24/10/2004). In a sermon Pastor Robert recounted the day, when the President arrived he:



Looked at the marble at the entrance, and the First Lady said ‘this is fantastic’ they had not known the seven columns we put here in gold, because in all of the churches they have opened they were too small...she said ‘wow’, tears ran down her face. She said ‘I’ve been in so many meetings, but this is the Ugandan family I’ve been praying for’. The President said this is a ‘magnifying place’...every time I go to England and see Buckingham Palace and you see gold columns they are painted with gold you know the king lives there...You look at the compound you say ‘wow’, child of God you are in the temple of the Holy Ghost (Miracle Participant Observation, December 2011).

Pastor Robert continued by linking the grandeur of Miracle Cathedral to the importance of ‘thanksgiving’ or tithing and almsgiving. Quoting Matthew 8:14 and Luke 17:15 giving thanks to the Lord is not only by voicing appreciation. Rather showing thanks is through action.

In a literal interpretation of Mark 1:14 Pastor Robert describes the story of Jesus cleansing the leper “and there came a leper...[and] Jesus touched him...the leper was cleansed...see thou say nothing to any man” (Miracle Participant Observation, April 2012). Pastor Robert takes the meaning of ‘see thou say nothing to any man’ to mean that thanks is nonverbal. When the leper thanked Jesus he did not thank him in words.

Therefore to make the most of your relationship with God you should never “come in the presence of God empty handed” (Miracle Participant Observation, April 2012). He continues merging scripture with modernity and consumerism, in “Western culture...whenever they want to thank someone they write a card, they give a gift. Ugandans can kill you with Christmas cards, but Christmas is a time of giving gifts, you buy them necklaces, you give them clothes...go the way of the Western culture give gifts” (*ibid*).

At *Miracle* believers must set themselves apart both in the eyes of God and here on earth, and materiality allows for such a distinction. Kayanja asks, “How does one go ahead of others...There are others everyday paying the price to go to the next level” (Miracle Participant Observation, April 2012). Since *Miracle* employs a literal interpretation of scripture it is useful to apply the same analysis to Kayanja’s words.

For Kayanja the potential for economic, spiritual and physical transformation is limitless. To “take it to the next level” is to become a disciple of God and transform the context in which you live (*ibid*).

Throughout the majority of his sermons Kayanja speaks about Uganda’s place in the world, particularly in relation to Western nations. Patterns of consumption should reflect Western habits, churches should be equally as grand as British palaces, and he instructs parishioners to measure themselves not by Ugandan standards but global standards. For *Miracle* the impediments to national progress are poverty and illness. In order to transform Uganda, financial and physical well-being must be amended through God.

The next logical step beyond individual transformation is national transformation. As the “child of God [is]...the temple of the *Holy Ghost*”, the temple must multiply and reflect His grandeur, the nation must *magnify* God (Miracle Participant Observation, November 2011). Kayanja states that a ‘corporate’ anointing is required to magnify God. A ‘national’ anointing will occur as long as the collective sins of the nation do not outweigh the moral good. At *Miracle* it is time God intervened in Ugandan welfare. Yet, just as God will only intervene in the lives of parishioners if they give to God and turn to His grace. For God to intervene in Uganda the nation must anoint Him.

### ***Miracle Upon Miracle: Health & Healing***

As the previous section demonstrates accumulation and financial prosperity are central to belief. Yet, wealth alone does not promote capitalist tendencies. Together the “health and wealth gospel seems to reproduce some of the worst forms of capitalism in Christian guise” (Anderson, 2002:180). Pastor Robert has made a name for himself throughout the global Pentecostal community for faith healing. In 2008 *Miracle* hosted the world-famous evangelist and faith-healer Benny Hinn. Faith healing is just as integral as the prosperity gospel. Healing is a common Sunday

theme. Pastor Kayanja says that “God can heal you of any disease...[and] nothing is too big for the Lord” (Miracle Participant Observation, January 2012).

Pastor Robert has travelled to around 70 nations on faith-healing crusades, including missions to the United States (Kyanja Ministries, 2010). These crusades invert the foundational dynamic of Western Pentecostalism from a “foreign mission (mostly from ‘white’ to ‘other’ peoples)” to something reflecting the new locus of Christianity, and Pentecostalism, in the global South (Anderson, 2000:np). In addition to Kyanja’s global healing crusades, he regularly holds similar events throughout Uganda.

In January 2012 *Miracle* held a 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary celebration—in honour of Pastor Robert’s 50<sup>th</sup> birthday—the evening took place in Nelson Mandela or Namboole stadium in Kampala, to accommodate the enormous crowd. American gospel singer Donnie McClurkin opened the night, followed by an evening of faith healing by Pastor Robert and his team of junior ministers.

The night provided a venue for Ugandans to pray for the nation on the eve of its fifty-year independence celebrations. According to Pastor Makoko—who coordinated the event—“we ask the nation of Uganda to return to God. We want to reaffirm God as the guiding light for the country. We want Uganda to be reset on the path of our founding fathers who anchored Uganda on God’s principles and values as seen in our national motto, ‘For God and My country’” (Miracle Participant Observation, January 2012). Makoko said the event was an opportunity to recognise Ugandan heroes, and he concluded by asking the audience to pray for “God’s intervention in the challenges the nation is facing” (*ibid*).

By the time the sun set the stadium was full, pastors took to a stage framed by two jumbo-screens. The stadium bleachers housed the general public, while the grounds were sectioned off for a VIP area. Behind the stage hung a banner with the nation’s slogan ‘For God and country’. Pastors began the service with a prayer “pray for our

country, pray for the people who look after us, so many have lost their parents and need guidance father” (Miracle Participant Observation, January 2012).

As people drew near the stage pastors laid hands upon the ill, the injured, and the physically impaired, and the newly healed responded accordingly. Some walk without crutches, hear when once deaf, and sight is restored to the blind. According to Anderson part of the appeal of Pentecostalism is rooted in its emphasis on healing. For Anderson, “the religious specialist...has the power to heal the sick and ward off evil spirits and sorcery...[consequently] a holistic worldview that does not separate the ‘physical’ from the ‘spiritual’ is continued” and appeals to indigenous peoples by upholding many ‘traditional’ beliefs, as it recognises the existence and threat of evil spirits and merges the spiritual with the physical world (Anderson, 2004:211).

Charity—a postgraduate student sitting alone in the bleachers—is a devout born again, volunteering her free time at a local orphanage. Explaining faith healing she stated, “It takes faith to believe that you are healed, if you’ve read your Bible, have faith and believe that God is healing” (Miracle Participant Observation, January 2012). Once a parishioner is healed, pastors signal that a healing took place by calling out a testimony to the audience. Charity explained that God is the one that heals, not the pastor. The pastor serves as a vehicle for God’s power. Yet, if you are not healed the responsibility falls to you. A lack of faith renders the possibility of healing impossible.

When asked if anything was outside of the realm of God’s healing Charity was adamant that nothing is too big for the Lord, “There have been documented cases of being healed of HIV...some people in Uganda think HIV cannot be cured...but they must know we must tell them” (Miracle Participant Observation, January 2012). While such understandings of healing proves advantageous for many followers, it does pose risks, as “faith and God’s power to heal directly through prayer [can] result in a rejection of other methods of healing” for believers (Anderson, 2000:np). Charity was dedicated to spreading the gospel of healing to fellow Ugandans, particularly concerning HIV/AIDS. She continued, “I believe God does miracles, the

majority of Ugandans believe in miracles...but we are sceptical of people performing them” (Miracle Participant Observation, January 2012).

In this respect Charity expresses concern not over the plausibility of the miracle itself—Jesus’s performance of miracles is documented throughout scripture—but the validity of those performing the miracle. For Charity, Pastor Robert is a “good and trustworthy man”, a man anointed by God to perform miracles (Miracle Participant Observation, January 2012). On the field, a parade of people make their way to the stage, they serve as proof of the occurrence of miracle healing. All of them claim restored health. The event continues late into the night. At 11 pm the line to enter the stadium still extends out to the road.

Pastor Moses, a senior pastor at *Miracle* and currently opening a branch in Burundi, echoed Charity’s remarks. Sick for years Moses claims his conversion to PC Christianity brought not only a spiritual transformation but his physical salvation. As a small child Moses was abandoned by his mother, left alone in a small town by the Kenyan border. Living on the streets he began using drugs and alcohol. In 1993 a man “adopted him” and together they became involved in a smuggling ring, running goods across the border (Moses Interview, February 2012).

A teenager by this time, one night his smuggling partner brought home a sex worker as a “gift” for Moses. His partner locked him in a room with the woman and she raped him, “little did I know she was HIV-positive, she died in 1995” (Moses Interview, February 2012). The following year Moses fell ill. He started to experience common symptoms associated with HIV, “rashes, scabies, tumours everywhere...I began experiencing death, I was announced dead ten times in 1996” (*ibid*). Growing more infirm Moses gave his life to Christ and for four years his health improved, but in 2000 he relapsed.

At his worst “someone came with a coffin...then I heard the voice of the Lord, ‘Moses rise up’, my body was full of scars and flies” (Moses Interview, February 2012). Hearing the voice of God spurred Moses to begin intensive prayer. In April of

2001 he heard the voice of Christ. Moses explained, “Christ said I see God is going to use you, you are going to move the nation” (*ibid*). Christ armed Moses with scripture to aid in his recovery, and he began preaching in Kenya. There he witnessed a crippled man walk, a blind man see, and a deaf man hear. Witnessing the miracles elicited a feeling of rage in Moses, “I said God you cannot heal me” (*ibid*). Moses rededicated himself to God and began to develop a deeper faith.

Isolating himself on the top of a mountain Moses began an intensive regime of prayer. Eventually God spoke to him, “People think AIDS is a virus but to me it is a spirit, so fight against the spirit of AIDS”, later that evening the voice of God returned, “As I am changing the seasons and the time, I am also changing your blood...go to the world and testify that I heal AIDS” (Moses Interview, February 2012). By the morning Moses knew he was cured. Moses claims he has now been tested fourteen times for HIV, and all of the results have returned negative. He has since married an HIV-negative woman and they have two HIV-negative children. While Moses remained ambiguous if he ever tested positive or simply displayed parallel symptoms, his experience of healing was very real.

The prosperity gospel and faith healing are the backbones of *Miracle*. Yet, along with the church’s global alignment these principles have helped to fuel growing resentment in the public sphere against the largest PCC in Kampala. Consequently, the following section explores the allegations made against Pastor Kayanja, locating them within the broader argument that rejecting the outside world drives PC discourse in the public sphere.

### ***A Celebration of Courage: Conclusions on Sexuality & Slander***

From PC Christianity’s foundation ecumenical rivalry has proved a definitive trend (Anderson, 2000:np). In December of 2010 *Girl Power* hosted the annual event ‘Through it All: A Celebration of Courage’. The event launched Pastor Jessica’s book of the same title, a first-person account of how allegations of sodomy against Pastor Robert impacted her and their family.

Fellow PC pastors—Solomon Male of *Arising for Christ Ministries*, Michael Kyazze and Robert Kayiira of *Omega Healing Centre*, and Pastor Martin Ssempe of *One Love*—accused Kayanja of ‘sodomizing boys at his church’.<sup>42</sup> Six ‘boys’ accused the pastor, but they later recanted their confessions and claimed the pastors who made the allegations promised them money in exchange for their statements.

Kayanja then brought a civil case against the rival pastors. In October 2012 Male, Ssempe, Kyazze, and Kayiira were found guilty and sentenced to 100 hours of community service and fined. Both Ssempe and Male allege the investigation was tarnished by witness intimidation and an overt authoritative bias favouring Kayanja. For example, Kayanja financed the renovation of the Old Kampala police station before the allegations were made (Observer, 19/2/2012). While Ssempe’s perspective on the case will be expanded in the next chapter, the allegations shook *Miracle*. Yet Pastor Jessica used them as a platform to demonstrate her own *courage* in the face of adversity.

Drawing upon *Miracle’s* penchant for glamour and opulence a black-tie evening brought together important politicians and members of Ugandan society. The band settled in the back of the stage framed by white string lights and silk valances. The colour theme was black and gold, and gilded silk flowers were arranged in the centre of dessert tables filled with iced cakes. The evening’s motto “Through it all through the fire you can find courage” was displayed in the auditorium (Through it All, 2010).

The event opened with a family disfigured by an acid attack—a common occurrence according to Ugandan media reports—who recounted the hardships they have overcome. They are followed by an executive member of *Girl Power* who quickly introduces Pastor Jessica, “*Girl Power* is the strength of a woman to raise her daughter in a situation of poverty into mighty leaders of the nation,” she says (Through it All, 2010).

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<sup>42</sup> While the term boys is employed—which often conflates the allegations to paedophilia—the men under consideration were all past sexual maturity, the accusers’ ages ranged between 19 and 36 years of age. Generally the term ‘boy’ in Uganda is applied when referring to an unmarried man.

Dressed in a black cocktail dress Pastor Jessica graces the stage. She opens by first acknowledging the evening's prominent guests; the wife of the foreign affairs minister and Vice President, the private secretary to the president of education, millionaire and former ambassador to Pakistan Boney Katatumba, the personal secretary to the Vice President, the editor of the state newspaper the *New Vision*, the private secretary for women, and the assistant inspector general of the police department. Pastor Jessica then extends a warm welcome to all of the members of Parliament present. Pastor Robert's brother, and the Archbishop of York, John Sentamu is the last to be introduced; his presence proved "the convention was ordained by God" (Through it All, 2010).

Drawing upon public struggles and humiliations shared by many audience members—by 2012 the Vice President had been involved in nine scandals—Jessica relayed her own hardships. "I know you know what my family went through this year", she began, "and a bit of last year, when my husband was accused of sodomy" (Through it All, 2010). Next Pastor Jessica asked the audience to think of the men crucified beside Jesus, to imagine the shame of being publicly undressed and mocked before execution. As one of the men beside Jesus was "nailed before the king of kings...he says if I have the Messiah beside me why am I going through shame, hurt, and embarrassment, why am I making the headlines if Jesus is beside me" (*ibid*).

That feeling is how Pastor Jessica described waking up to the allegations that her husband sodomized male members of their church. With the allegations sprawled across the headlines of the national papers "my young child asked me the meaning of sodomy...I got to the point when I wondered when the Jesus who is in me would come and vindicate me" (Through it All, 2010). Then she remembered the other man crucified beside Jesus, the man who 'praised God in adversity'. This man "decided to praise Jesus" in spite of the adversity and in spite of the pain (*ibid*). According to Pastor Jessica she took on the perspective of Barabbas the 'good thief' and praised Jesus.



Pastor Jessica concludes by mentioning her new book. “My book is a story about what happened to me, how I received the news that my husband was accused of sodomy. Who was brave enough to call me and be the first person to inform me. What did I tell [my husband] on the phone because he was abroad. It is all in the book. I have been frank” (Through it All, 2010). As she concludes, a procession enters with gift baskets of books wrapped in cellophane, they climb the stage and take to the catwalk modelling the baskets and their evening’s attire. Pastor Robert joins his wife on stage thanking his family and those who stood with him, after encouraging members of the audience to buy the book—because “it will strengthen you”—they begin to dance to the band’s rendition of Bette Midler’s *Wind Beneath My Wings*. As the evening concludes the ladies of *Girl Power* present an award for the best dressed of the night.

The morning of the event Pastor Robert held a prayer breakfast for Uganda’s top politicians at the Lugogo Cricket Grounds. In attendance was foreign affairs minister, Sam Kuteesa, who used the meeting as an opportunity to discuss the oil reserves in Uganda and how they should be viewed as “a blessing not a curse” (New Vision, 20/12/2010). Kuteesa claimed Uganda could use the oil reserves to develop the roads, increase agriculture, and harness the nation’s human resources. Speaking to the audience, Kuteesa thanked *Miracle*, saying “a country is as strong or weak as its moral fabric. We must therefore thank Pastor Kayanja and all other pastors who are rebuilding the country’s moral fabric” (*ibid*). In a veiled reference to the sodomy scandal, Kayanja stated that people will be held accountable for their actions.

While the staff and congregation do not regularly speak openly about the allegations, at the Homecoming Event in 2012 a visiting Australian pastor made reference to the scandal. For him the motivation for such discrediting words come from “a defective heart”. The pastor claimed that while someone can be “powerful and eloquent they can have a treacherous nature, it is a spirit of disloyalty...[that] begins as a seed” (Miracle Participant Observation, April 2012). As the visiting pastor continued his words became more specific to the allegations. Explaining that “pastors like power and pastors don’t want to lose it, if we don’t get rid of it churches will be

violated...[it is] sedition and heresy. They undermine with the intent to overthrow...it is a spirit...it preys on people who need recognition” (*ibid*). The spirit of Absalom is a destructive and malicious force that thrives on jealousy. Finally the guest pastor made a more overt reference to the case. He warned fellow pastors to “not compare yourself to Pastor Robert, you would not be willing to sacrifice what he has sacrificed” (*ibid*).

These remarks reflect common conceptions at *Miracle*. The allegations were made out of jealousy from rival pastors set on undermining Pastor Robert’s authority and gaining recognition. According to a *Miracle* employee, if pastors from different churches are experiencing conflict it should be mediated out of the public eye, “to find out whether it is true, men of integrity should handle the case” (Miracle Interview, April 2012). For the born-again “sodomy brings humiliation, we have dirty newspapers, they humiliate...the young men who accused [him] we prayed for them, they felt guilty [and] they came and told Pastor Robert the truth” (*ibid*). When speaking about the pastors who made the allegations she continued, “[they] seem focused on homosexuality, [but] the [financial] donors come to *Miracle*, it was camouflaged fighting, camouflaged jealousy” (*ibid*).

For *Miracle* members many pastors use their Sunday service as a pulpit not for the word of God, but their own agendas. Members saw the allegations not as an attack on Pastor Robert, but as an attack against their church because “the devil is after [the pastors that made the allegations] ministries to divert them, people have come to hear the word of God, not their words...the attack upon his life was an attack upon the church for if you attack a shepherd you can scatter his sheep...with rallied men of God the devil came too” (Miracle Interview, April 2012).

The allegations were not new. One member claims they began nineteen years earlier (Miracle Interview, April 2012). Stephen Langa, a leader of the fellowship of married people at *Watoto Church* and founder of the *Family Life Network*—an organisation that has supported the AHB—claims he first heard the allegations over ten years ago [see Chapter VI]. Langa claims men told him that Kayanja sodomised

them in the early 1990s. In an interview with the Ugandan paper the *Observer* Langa stated, “I wasn’t surprised when these allegations came up. In the years of my work with Family Life Network, I have counselled victims, saying Kayanja sodomised me...these things are real in all churches, although the Pentecostal church is most affected. Kayanja isn’t alone. There are other pastors” (Observer, 1/6/2009).

Langa’s words speak to the fear throughout the public sphere of the encroaching threat of homosexuality and the perceived moral corruption that is weakening both the church and the country. In the normative Ugandan frame, homosexuality is a learned cultural behaviour that emanates from the West. The ‘homosexual agenda’ sways the innocent with material accumulation and cash, something Kayanja represents. As homosexuality is ‘taught’, Kayanja’s global affiliations position him as corruptible.

In broader PC discourse the Western homosexual community is targeting members of the church, because the church is the only vehicle morally equipped to resist the movement. PC discourse circulates an image of a financially solvent Western homosexual community with a systematic agenda to spread homosexuality to the ‘uncorrupted’ developing world, to infiltrate the church community through financial donations to Christian organisations. Langa corroborates this notion, “I have heard this from several pastors who have been approached to be recruited into gay activities and they have refused” (Observer, 1/6/2009).

Wealth and the prosperity gospel are fundamental to the allegations against Kayanja. Homosexuality is a symbol of corruption. In contrast to Kayanja, Ssempe is a vocal opponent of the prosperity gospel. In an interview posted on Ssempe’s personal blog he claims to have known about the allegations against Kayanja for the last sixteen years. Ssempe stated that:

I am not jealous. Each of us has a calling. Mine is to serve the university and young people....I have made a sacrifice to live in this country and serve a congregation which doesn’t have money. I am serving God but not money. I have actually been disappointed by the prosperity gospel and a series of issues in Pastor Robert Kayanja’s

church which have brought trouble and a bad reputation for the body of Christ...the question is not whether Pastor Kayanja is gay, but has he sexually abused young boys? (Ssempe, 2009).

Homosexuality and disease have come to represent moral corruption and impediments to national progress, and for Ssempe, Kayanja's prosperity gospel is just as indicative of the corruption that is present within the Pentecostal community and impedes the nation's transformation. For Ssempe, while homosexuality is against scripture, the misuse of a holy position of authority undermines both the church and national morality.

For adherents of the *Miracle* gospel the way towards national progress is through economic mobility. For Uganda the way forward requires the prosperity gospel on a national level, and God's favour will heal the economic and physical ailments of the nation and its people. While other PCCs under consideration attempt to question existing models, Western secularity, and human rights discourses, *Miracle* exemplifies in what Gifford describes as PCC's ability to:

Dissuade adherents from evaluating the present economic order, merely persuading them to try to be amongst those who benefit from it. With its emphasis on personal healing, it diverts attention from social ills...its stress on human wickedness...is no incentive to social [and] economic...reform. By emphasising personal morality so exclusively, it all but eliminates any interest in systemic or institutional injustice (Gifford, 1991:65).

The transformation called for by the majority of the PC community requires disrupting the global *status quo* by rejecting the cultural hegemony of the West.

*Miracle* offers a microcosm of what is occurring within the Ugandan public sphere, and it has come to represent both modernity and the global, demonstrating how the 'modern outside' world erodes and corrupts righteousness. While poverty and illness are positioned as the nation's true impediments they can be cured with spiritual conversion and prayer. *Miracle* represents a world where the Holy Spirit remedies ills. With the Lord's favour, believers go forth and prosper, and more systemic

contributors to inequality and disease are obscured. *Miracle* emphasises the global and the materiality associated with PC Christianity.

Condemnations of the church reject what *Miracle* has come to represent. The church's global associations are viewed to undermine local identity and moral integrity in the eyes of the broader PC community. *Miracle's* association with the global undermines its message of revival and demonstrates the discordant nature of PC discourse in Uganda.

The diversity of PC messages in the public sphere render their consistencies more apparent. The PC frame of homosexuality and project of national transformation, inform the construction and negotiation of citizenship and further blur the indistinct boundaries between the religious and the secular. While *Miracle* seeks the same transformation, its strategies conflict with the other churches under consideration. Nevertheless *Miracle's* influence is profound, and reveals tension in the Ugandan PC community, demonstrated between *Miracle* and *One Love*. The next chapter explores *One Love Church*, home to Pastor Martin Ssempe. As mentioned, Pastor Ssempe is one of the most vocal opponents of Pastor Kayanja. Pastor Ssempe aims to root out corruption both in his nation, and in his religious community, and is a prominent leader of the local anti-gay movement.

## CHAPTER V

### TWO WORLDS: TRANSFORMING THE NATION WITH *ONE LOVE*

#### The roles of disease and sexuality in evoking national transformation

*“You know in Africa we say it is our time to eat, but these things, with these things how can it be...our time to eat has never been applied.”*

*Pastor Martin Ssempe (Ssempe Interview, May 2012)*

*One Love* is inextricable from its outspoken and gregarious founder, Pastor Martin Ssempe. In comparison to the other churches under consideration, *One Love* more clearly demonstrates what Jean Comaroff observes in PCCs throughout West Africa and the United States that are “centred on particular charismatic leaders...[and while] often part of religious federations, remain organizationally independent” (Comaroff, 2009:25). Like *Covenant Nations*, *One Love* caters to a small congregation of university students that holds less political and financial clout [see Chapter VII] than the other case studies. *One Love* exemplifies nationalist rhetoric. Through a frame of sexual purity its young churchgoers are encouraged to transform the nation by first transforming themselves. Transformation is as easy as A(bstinence), B(eing faithful) C(hrist), and HIV prevention is a central feature of the church.

Regardless of his years of work on HIV prevention, in the international press Ssempe is best known for his campaign against ‘sodomy’. In recent years Pastor Ssempe gained worldwide recognition for his vocal stance against homosexuality. In international coverage of the Anti-Homosexuality Legislation Pastor Ssempe’s name is one of the first listed, after the Bill’s author MP David Bahati. In 2010 he became an internet phenomenon when the video widely referred to as ‘Eat da Poo Poo’ went viral. The footage shows Ssempe explaining extreme sex acts and screening gay pornography to a church audience (Huffington Post, 18/2/2010).

Vocal and often extreme denunciations of homosexuality are a mainstay for Ssempe and his church. In contrast to the other churches under consideration, through homosexuality *One Love* offers a more outspoken and direct critique of the West. Standing in front of handmade banners that proclaim, “Africans unite against sodomy” and “We support our president”, Pastor Martin Ssempe’s highly politicised sermons announce the ‘corruption’ of Western morality. For Ssempe the global North establishes “laws...outside of faith” (One Love Participant Observation, May 2010). At *One Love* faith must inform national policy. The church provides a clear example of the importance of sexual purity in nation building—and the intersections between sexuality, nationalism, and citizenship. *One Love* is Pastor Ssempe, and Pastor Ssempe is *One Love*.

This chapter explores the nationalist frame of discourse at *One Love* in order to understand how church discourse engages with sexuality and draws on the past to establish a moral citizenry. Discourse on sexuality reveals tensions in strategies of governance and the negotiation of citizenship and perpetuates the indistinct boundaries between the religious and political.

Beginning with an overview of founder Pastor Ssempe, the *One Love*’s origins and its leader are considered. The next section is the evolution of *One Love Church*, from its start as *Makerere Community*—when the church focused solely on HIV/AIDS—the frame of sexual purity is elaborated and the intersections with national transformation are better understood. This section is followed with a description of Sunday service and the popular abstinence event *Primetime*. The next section examines how condoms are viewed. The last three sections consider homosexuality, with the first providing an overview of the tensions between homosexuality and state autonomy.

This is followed with a section that elaborates the tensions between PCCs in Kampala, by considering the relationship between the locally aligned *One Love* and globally aligned *Miracle*. The doctrinal tensions between *Miracle* and *One Love* demonstrate the tremendous diversity of belief found within Pentecostal-Charismatic

Churches in Kampala, and elaborate the ‘competitive religious marketplace’ of Ugandan PC Christianity (Hackett, 1998). The chapter concludes with the church’s approach to sexual rehabilitation.

The larger purpose of this chapter is to understand the broader objectives under consideration, moving towards a national ‘moral’ transformation that relies on a frame of tradition. Yet, as Pastor Ssempea makes clear, the diversity of Pentecostal-Charismatic doctrine muddles the vision of unity, and for Pastor Ssempea the Pentecostal community in Kampala must be unified to strengthen its national influence.

### ***The Man in the Mirror: The Origins of One Love***

Before his spiritual transformation in the late 1980s, Pastor Martin Ssempea lived a self-confessed ‘promiscuous’ lifestyle. He attributes his promiscuity to the brief celebrity, he gained throughout East Africa, by winning a breakdancing competition and earning the title of *All African Disco Champion* in 1986 (New Vision, 23/6/2008). Ssempea credits Michael Jackson as the source of his inspiration, “I used to watch MJ videos when I was part of the All-African Disco Championship...and apart from his crotch-grabbing, I thought his dancing was inspirational” (Observer, 8/7/2009).<sup>43</sup> Around this time Ssempea lost a brother and sister to AIDS-related illness (New Vision, 23/6/2008). The death of his siblings was transformative and caused him to reassess his life. If not for his faith, Ssempea claims he would have contracted HIV “because I was promiscuous” (One Love Participant Observation, May 2010).

Ssempea began attending the Wandegaya Baptist Youth Centre in Kampala and gave his life to Christ (New Vision, 23/6/2008). Following his rebirth he:

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<sup>43</sup> Upon the singer’s death Ssempea co-organised a public memorial for Jackson. Admitting to the *Observer* that the event was not a secular memorial as we cannot “divide the world into secular and sacred” (Observer, 8/7/2009). The event highlights the Pentecostal-Charismatic worldview in Kampala. The sacred and secular do not exist in distinct realms. Rather the secular is rendered sacred through the Charismatic perspective.



Joined a team of other young people in a Baptist Church in Kampala, he loved music and dance, and during this period he lost a brother, sister, auntie, and uncle to HIV/AIDS, [his] closest friends died of HIV/AIDS. [All of this] happened within 1988 and 1989...he felt something wrong was happening in the nation, [and said I must] intervene. [He asked himself] what can I do as a young man, [so] he organised a team of young people to do a drama 'The Curse of the Virus' (Makerere Interview, May 2010).

The play found support from the Minister of Education and the piece began travelling around Uganda. Ssempe played the role of a man who dies from AIDS-related illness, to educate people about the "reality of [the disease]" (Makerere Interview, May 2010). Eventually the office of the President and the Catholic Church in Uganda became involved in the project.

In 1990 Pastor Ssempe finished his secondary education at Makerere University. Two years later he left Uganda to study in the United States, where he received a degree in biblical counselling from Philadelphia Biblical University, now Cairn University. While completing his master's degree he met his wife, Tracey, an American, and after finishing the programme they returned to Uganda in 1994.

Initially Ssempe found it difficult to reach his desired student audience. Ugandan universities were primarily Anglican and Catholic communities, and the Baptist and charismatic movements were marginal. Yet, the religious demographics were changing, and by 1997 Ssempe had infiltrated Makerere University with *Jesus Focus Ministry*, counselling students and staging dramas (Makerere Interview, May 2010). Two years later, *Jesus Focus Ministry* became *Makerere Community Church*. After getting permission to operate out of the University, the ministry began several student-oriented programmes to combat HIV/AIDS. Just as he transformed his own 'morally divergent' behaviour, Ssempe asked university students to do the same by abstaining from sex and maintaining monogamous marriages.

Ssempe's first large-scale initiative was *Primetime at the Pool*, an event still held on the university campus. *Primetime* provides an alternative to the popular clubs and bars of Kampala with student-focused activities, music, and dance. With his youth-

focused ministry the *Primetime* pool watered the seeds of *Makerere Community*, and Ssempe's church and message of abstinence began to grow in the university community.

In 1999, the same year of the church's official founding, *One Love* began formalised HIV-initiatives. In contrast to the healing power of *Miracle*, *One Love* demands personal agency, asking churchgoers to take control of their HIV status through abstinence and fidelity. *One Love*'s student initiatives advocate for sexual purity. The church promotes a perspective that echoes government led HIV/AIDS campaigns of the past decade, grounded in an ethos of behavioural change to curb the spread of the disease. HIV/AIDS is a persistent topic at *One Love* and reflects a theological perspective where "God judges by one standard—righteousness" (Makerere Interview, May 2010).

As Ssempe's church grew so did the message, and a stance against 'sodomy' was incorporated into church discourse. *Makerere Community* headquarters were located across from the university campus. In 2010 I visited their offices, and the white masonry building resembled many homes of well-to-do Ugandans. In front of the PC *Redeemed of the Lord Church*, the headquarters also housed the White House University FM radio, which gave the building its eponymous name. Black graffiti sprayed across the facade marked it as the 'White House'. A place of worship, throughout the day the rooms were filled with university students, particularly young men.

Prayers from inside were audible from the garden, and young men joined hands and recited the words in unison:

Cure our hearts, purify our thoughts. Healing through the spirit...God wants you to enjoy the blood of Jesus to make atonement. God gives us the power to overcome sin. Ask for grace to sustain you, we fight against impurity, to sustain your abstinence. Protect your people, remember your glory, you alone help us stand against pervasive sin, adultery and homosexuality (Makerere Participant Observation, May 2010).

The radio broadcast was in earshot. The host instructed listeners to “pray for pure hearts and minds” before warning them on the dangers of homosexuality (Makerere Participant Observation, May 2010). This was my first and last time at the White House, when I returned to Kampala in 2011 *Makerere Church* and its headquarters were gone.

### ***Establishing One Love: The Evolution of Makerere Community Church***

In 2011 *Makerere Community Church* became *One Love Church*, following a slew of negative international press concerning Pastor Ssempe and his outspoken stance on homosexuality. A year before, the ‘Eat da Poo Poo’ video circulated, in which Ssempe screened scatological pornography and explained extreme sex acts as common homosexual practices. The footage went viral and received millions of views worldwide. It was even featured on mainstream Western news outlets and comedy programmes.

A regular feature in the Ugandan press, Ssempe is now a common fixture in the international media. While Ugandan accounts depict the pastor positively—particularly concerning his abstinence and monogamy initiatives on HIV/AIDS and stance on homosexuality—Western sources offer more sensationalised portrayals. Ssempe is the ‘Sex-Obsessed’ (Huffington Post, 25/4/2014) ‘Kill-The-Gays Pastor’ (Think Progress, 16/3/2012).

Members of the church attribute the name change to the church’s ambitions. While the new name offers flexibility for planting churches beyond the Makerere campus, the deliberate selection of *One Love* evokes an image of a more harmonious and accepting community church. ‘One Love’ stands in stark contrast to international depictions of Ssempe and his followers. The church logo reinforces the ‘love’. Four hearts of red, green, black, and yellow are cater-cornered together to form a cross. The ‘love’ evokes a new *Makerere* predicated on a conception of racial and social harmony, reminiscent of the Rastafarian notion of *one love*. While the name change

divorces *Makerere* from its contentious past, it also appeals to the young demographic that is the backbone of the congregation.

*One Love's* new location is in stark contrast with the original headquarters. While they are in the same neighbourhood, *One Love's* offices are more formal and institutionalised than *Makerere Community Church's* 'White House'. The differences extend beyond the physical. Housed in a professional building behind a corporate bank in busy Wandegaya, visitors are greeted by a receptionist sitting beneath a professionally printed *One Love* logo. While students still fill the waiting area, the mood is more sedate than the cramped quarters of the 'White House'. At the White House homosexuality was a constant subject of prayer, but the topic has less of a public presence in *One Love's* office. The church has distanced itself from the Western media's 'Kill the Gays' church. While homosexuality is not a frequent topic inside the church's office, it remains a constant at Sunday services.

#### *Sunday Service at One Love*

Sunday services are held at the Veterinary Medicine Hall at Makerere University. Surrounded by outbuildings filled with animal stalls for the University's veterinary programme, the colonial-era building is over four-storeys high. The building encircles a central courtyard where the congregation meets after services for refreshments. In contrast to the other churches under consideration, *One Love* has modest facilities. The congregation packs into a small room on the second floor, and the student audience fills the wooden pews and writing desks that are arranged before a small stage. The services are incredibly animated—both pastor and audience alike. When the congregation is taken with the Holy Spirit, bodies contort and the gift of glossolalia is made manifest.

The magnetic Pastor Ssempe leads regular Sunday services. After a long period of singing—the opener to the headlining act—the Baptist-educated pastor makes his entrance, Ssempe makes his way through a side door, surrounded by his team of young pastors and youth ministers. He takes to the modest stage. Clad in black robes affixed with red crosses, Ssempe sounds a cow horn trumpet, or *shofar*, a call to

assembly. The instrument that helped Joshua capture the city of Jericho sounds *One Love's* congregation to action, and Ssempe quickly transcends his unassuming surroundings (KJV, Joshua 6:20).

Sermons are heavily political, globally oriented, and highly nationalistic. At *One Love* Uganda is seen to be “dying as a nation, as a civilisation. God spread life, resuscitation, and send your angels to Uganda. It needs the breath of life” (One Love Participant Observation, May 2012). Disease, pornography, feminism, and homosexuality are seen as impediments to national progress, impediments that are said to emanate from the West. Ssempe demands Ugandans no longer allow themselves to be “enslaved to Europeans”, but national enfranchisement is only achievable by adopting a PC Christian morality (*ibid*).

For both *Miracle Centre* and *One Love* the future of Uganda is in the Holy Spirit. Yet, while *Miracle* frames national prosperity and development through an economic lens, *One Love's* emphasis is on purity and autonomy, be it sexual or cultural. During a Sunday service a guest speaker explained his conversion to PC Christianity, concluding “the Holy Spirit prepares us for the presence of our enemies” (One Love Participant Observation, May 2012). Immediately following this speaker's announcement, Pastor Ssempe called for a purity reading, requesting that the unmarried members of the congregation stand and repeat the vow “believing and knowing that it is God's will for me to be sexually pure I make a vow...I commit myself to sexual purity until the day that I marry” (*ibid*).

Following the purity vow, married members of the audience are called to stand and recite their own vow “with the full knowledge that God demands me to keep the marital bed pure I will be sexually faithful” (One Love Participant Observation, May 2012). For members of *One Love* the church helps maintain their sexual purity by providing a community of like-minded Christians aimed at abstinence and monogamy.

While predominantly known for his stance on homosexuality, Ssempe initially established his church as a tool to help young students away from home and new to the city negotiate the dangers of HIV/AIDS. Growing from the epidemic, *Makerere Community Church* advocated strategies of abstinence and monogamy, eventually setting its sights on establishing a ‘new generation’ of Ugandan leaders to forge a prosperous and *moral* future for the country (Gusman, 2009). One of the main abstinence events is *Primetime at the Pool*.

#### *Primetime at the Pool*

*One Love* offers numerous youth programmes. Life-skills camps, school outreach programmes, and a youth drop-in centre all support the message of behavioural change. Underpinning these methods is the ‘behavioural changing’ newsletter *The Prime-Timer*. The publication prints students’ abstinence testimonies, exploring conversion from “undressing every female” to “having the choice to...build your life” through the Holy Spirit (Prime-Timer, 2008:5). The pages are filled with declarations of the lies of secular society and denunciations of the publication *Straight Talk*. Published by an NGO of the same name, *Straight Talk* was instrumental in creating formative dialogue on HIV/AIDS in Uganda, but has been vilified by *The Prime-Timer* for leading students astray (Prime-Timer, 2008:6).

Life-skills training educates students on HIV, encouraging abstinence and monogamy. Previous programme participants now hold prominent government posts and host popular radio shows, people the church claims “would have died of HIV but we transformed [them], [we] serve the nation...we train, release, and...they duplicate what they have learned about HIV/AIDS” (Makerere Interview, May 2010). School outreach programmes equip the youth with PC ideology. According to *One Love*, “We reach out to students, we get them in secondary school, we equip them...they grow up to be responsible adults...we challenge them to abstain...we have seen what HIV has done to the nation, and because God demands we stay pure” (*ibid*). Yet, of all *One Love*’s purity events the most popular remains the original, *Primetime*.

Structured as a fashionable pool party, the event invites local disc jockeys to play music while students hear about conversion and abstinence. Set among university

housing, the pool overflows with students. Lights engulf the stage and attendees dance and break into song. Audience members are invited onto the stage to participate in skits, sign abstinence pledges, and share their conversion testimonies. During a *Primetime* held before term finals, audience members were asked to “turn to their neighbours and ask are you abstaining?” (One Love Participant Observation, April 2012).

Three male participants were selected from the audience to come onstage. After introducing themselves to the crowd, the men selected three women to join them onstage from the audience. The evening’s host asked, “Is there a correlation between your exams and your level of abstinence?...How is it going on the zip side?...I’m keeping it tight or is it keeping it tight” (One Love Participant Observation, April 2012). The question quickly gave way to a press-up competition between the men, “I don’t know if your abstinence is truly genuine...these men are going to do press-ups because press-ups and abstinence are related” (*ibid*). The winner was deemed victorious because of sexual purity. The host asked, “What was your secret?”. To which the young man replied, “I abstain” (*ibid*).

The physical competition equated physical and mental strength with abstinence. The young men’s level of physical virility directly correlated to their perceived level of sexual purity. In contrast to common depictions of physical attraction and strength with sexuality—particularly normative understandings that align masculinity with sexual conquest (Connell, 2005:68)—men are realigned as desirable based on their sexual purity. The event was rife with contradiction. Before the press-up competition began, the men removed their shirts, to the ‘woos’ of the female audience. Bodies are sexualised in the process of promoting abstinence. Sexuality should be admired and appreciated, but delayed. Evoking what the Comaroffs note in the many missionary accounts of the Protestant church, “the frequent irruption of corporeal images in staid mission prose suggests a preoccupation with the erotic. It also lends credence to the claim that, in order to extract power from the repressed body, modern Protestantism has had constantly to evoke it” (Comaroff & Comaroff, 1997:226).

At the end of the evening students fill-in response cards, with the responses ranging from the event “inspired me to abstain and seek...God” to “I got blessed by [the Spirit through] the music” (One Love Participant Observation, May 2010). Each card contains the logos of the Inter-Religious Council of Uganda (IRCoU) and UNAIDS, contradicting church claims that funding is entirely independent. According to a church administrator, UNAIDS funds were allocated to the IRCoU, which distributes resources to *One Love* (Makerere Interview, May 2010). *Primetime* encourages students to sign abstinence pledges. *One Love* keeps a copy, and the pledgee carries a copy to serve as a constant reminder. The pledge is a contract stating “I believe in saving myself for marriage, I make a covenant to God, myself...[and] my Nation” (*ibid*).

The pledge represents both moral HIV/AIDS policy and individual rebirth. When believers are reborn the past is seemingly severed, and they are disconnected from their ‘pre-salvation’ form. Re-framing public policy in line with PC morality is necessary because PC is central to individual identity and requires the formation of the ‘right kind’ of citizenry. For Marshall-Fratani “conversion does not...imply a rejection of other identities, but...their assimilation...One is always born-again first” (Marshall-Fratani, 1998:284). Pentecostal identity overrides all other allegiances. This is evident during a service when a speaker announced, “[I am] an anthropologist...[but I] can’t be separated from faith...I am an indigenous African Christian”, a Pentecostal-Charismatic first and foremost (Makerere Participant Observation, May 2010). His remark also makes clear the significance of another identity, African.

A church administrator declared *Primetime* instrumental in his own salvation, “I wanted to sleep with all the women...but I got in touch with *Primetime*” (Makerere Interview, May 2010). Consequently a majority of *One Love* attendees were first introduced to the church through the event. An active member of *One Love* said *Primetime* helped cure him of the ‘reckless behaviour’ he learned at boarding school:



I was in boarding school for six years, out of twelve months eight to nine of those months were away from home, away from your family. You learn rules and regulations, [you] wake up for your classes. All of your decisions are already made for you. You come from that [environment] and then you have [all of] this freedom, from this extreme to that extreme. Many people get swayed by alcohol, nightclubs and poor decisions. [But] at *Primetime* they were talking about things that concerned me as a university student, I made the decision to save sex for marriage. While it is not an easy decision, sexual abstinence is a challenge, it has taught me discipline...in 2001 I signed my [abstinence] pledge card (One Love Interview, May 2012).

Many members of *One Love* met their spouses at *Primetime*. The church's new offices are adorned with photos of newly married couples that met through the church. For many, *Primetime* and the church provide a network of fellow young people abstaining from pre-marital sex, who encourage and maintain each other's abstinence. *One Love* members acknowledge that sexual abstinence is "not easy but there are other people doing it with [you]. Even if you fail to honour your commitment you can still get up" (One Love Interview, April 2012). To fail on your commitment to abstinence does not undo a devotee's pledge, as those who have 'fallen-off' can recommit themselves to sexual fidelity and celibacy.

*One Love* membership does not require a history of sexual virginity. Secondary, even tertiary virginity can be applied to the newly converted and those who have 'fallen-off' their paths of sexual purity. At *One Love* sexual purity maintains a fluid identity, and can be regained through a public testimony that declares your sexual indiscretions. Salvation is never out of bounds for potential and present believers, and what initially seems a rigid system of sexual constraints proves a fluid structure that can be manipulated and utilised by followers who diverge from church doctrine.

While *Primetime* offers an excellent alternative for university students wishing to engage in *One Love's* abstinence and fidelity initiative, many attendees frequent 'zones of immorality' like nightclubs immediately following the Saturday evening event (Fieldwork Observation, 2010). When surveying *Primetime* attendees some

acknowledged their evenings would not end around the pool, but at the city's popular dance clubs, locations discouraged by the church.

According to a member:

This is where the hiding comes [because people do not abstain], the church says with condoms you are putting your life at risk, they are not offering an alternative to abstinence, but most people are not abstaining. Come to Makerere campus in the morning, come and you will see all of the girls and boys who slept somewhere else coming home in the morning. People are not abstaining, but they are afraid to use condoms (Makerere Interview, May 2010).

As demonstrated by Sadgrove (2007) the need to 'keep up appearances' between an individual's public performance of Pentecostal-Charismatic identity and actual private sexual behaviour exhibits a divergence between ideology and action, the visible and the unseen. The discrepancy between public appearance and private action can threaten HIV status because condoms are discouraged. According to a pastor at *One Love*, "we come from a culture that is secretive about sex, so how do you tell people to put on condoms, how do you know they are abstaining, how do you know they are using the condom" (One Love Interview, June 2012). Yet while sex may remain secretive, *One Love* discusses it openly when advocating for abstinence. The press-up competition at *Primetime* highlights how often in attempts to advocate for abstinence *One Love* overtly sexualises the bodies of the born again.

Abstinence and monogamy are encouraged over condoms. Condoms hold negative associations at *One Love*, "the whole joke of a condom, a condom says to me in an intimate way I don't trust you, you could harm me, I should protect myself from you. I don't want to build relationships based on suspicion but trust" (One Love Interview, May 2012). In a church culture that encourages purity over protection, sexual purity is a fluid category. Born-again believers whose behaviour diverges from *private* purity can simply recommit themselves to the lifestyle.

According to a pastor at *One Love*, "I ask my students, 'Who is a virgin?', I say it is okay if you [are not] you can apply for secondary virginity. It is okay if you make a

mistake, you can apply for tertiary virginity” as well (One Love Interview, June 2012).<sup>44</sup> Mirroring Meyer’s (1998) ‘break with the past’, individual sexual pasts can be forgotten and forged anew. The reborn at *One Love* are free from their individual histories as well as their collective histories, free from polygamy and tribalism, free from promiscuity and free from disease.

For many, *Primetime* not only led to seemingly celibate lifestyles—with the goal of saving sex for marriage—but altered their views on family and tradition. According to a recently married member of *One Love*, “Initially my dream was to be polygamous, I came from a polygamous family for generations...but the sexual irresponsibility of our parents has brought us here [to immorality and disease]. We have talked to young people who have been abused by those who should have cared for them. It has ripple effects, [but] we will make a better community” based on sexual purity (One Love Interview, April 2012). The notion of purity is imbued with layered meaning, as the individual body, the congregation, and the nation are challenged by Pentecostal-Charismatic perceptions to ‘remain pure’.

Sexual purity extends beyond an individual moral imperative, but for *One Love* proves the path to national transformation. Ssempe asks “that God will use Uganda and what was called the dark-continent to bring a re-awakening to the true teaching of the Bible on the issue of life and sexual purity...save the sinners without legitimating [*sic*] the life of sin and sexual anarchy” (Ssempe, 2010). For Ssempe his greatest accomplishment is not his church.

According to Pastor Ssempe:

My contribution is greater than the church, my contribution is to the country, and to the continent. We are able to speak to the up and coming leaders, [we can tell them] to serve their country, we can tell them what kind of leaders the country needs. A country needs a leader who is patriotic, who is not stalling. Look at growing your own leaders...We want a faith that is about the issues of our country, be

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<sup>44</sup> Virginity is can be restored by recommitting yourself to abstinence. Consequently, regardless of your sexual history virginity is something that can always be obtained.

good stewards of the nation, keep the Love and Lord in your country (Ssempe Interview, May 2012).

*One Love's* discourse does not end at church and school programmes. To reach a new generation *One Love* permeates the airwaves through radio broadcasts. The extent of approaches covers “all angles [to] zero in on HIV/AIDS...[and] prevent [it] in students...through abstinence and being faithful” (Makerere Interview, May 2010). The multitude of approaches fills public space, dissolving boundaries between the private and public realms, while reinforcing the overlap between the religious and the secular within Kampala. The breadth of institutionalised HIV approaches at *One Love* transfers responsibility of the welfare of individuals onto the church rather than the state, challenging “the separation of powers that underlay the ideals...of most twentieth century democracies...extend[ing] ever more tangibly to profane realms” (Comaroff, 2009:20).

Consequently, *One Love* is positioned as a state surrogate, providing services while constituting the nation ideologically, resulting in both a nation and public policy that reflects Pentecostal-Charismatic ideology.

### ***Invisible C's: Condoms and Circumcision at One Love***

While premarital and extra-marital sex is framed as a dangerous practice at *One Love*, threatening the future for individuals and the nation, condoms and male circumcision are greatly discouraged. According to church administrators, “as a church we teach ABC, but our emphasis is on A and B” (Makerere Interview, May 2010). Yet, a dialogue on condoms and circumcision is rare at *One Love*, and when the methods are discussed both are often condemned.

In October 2004, after numerous complaints to the Ugandan government, a batch of defective Engabu condoms were eventually recalled. According to Epstein (2008) in mid-September Pastor Ssempe set fire to a box of Engabu condoms on the university campus. While Ssempe claims the statement was about the quality of the condoms, not an overall condemnation of condoms, the event was interpreted in the national and international press as rejecting condoms.

Ssempea claims *One Love* promotes “A, B, C and circumcision, I support everything”, but he maintains a distrust of condoms (Ssempea Interview, May 2012). According to Ssempea he is “fundamentally suspicious in the efficacy of condoms” based on the quality of condoms distributed throughout East Africa (*ibid*). This fundamental suspicion is reaffirmed with incidents like the Engabu recall. Ssempea claims burning the condoms was a commentary on the quality of the condoms in sub-Saharan Africa. For Ssempea:

They break, they are made in China...I ended up burning four condoms, so kids could not reach them, when they were recalled I burnt them...the condoms brought here are ineffective, stored badly...[but] when we talk about that we are made to look like fanatics...I didn't just burn condoms, I [destroyed] condoms that were recalled, but the *New York Times* article never mentions that. I incorporate C, I educate people who are going to be promiscuous, I tell them to use a condom. We want to protect everyone but we don't want to legitimise promiscuity (Ssempea Interview, May 2012).

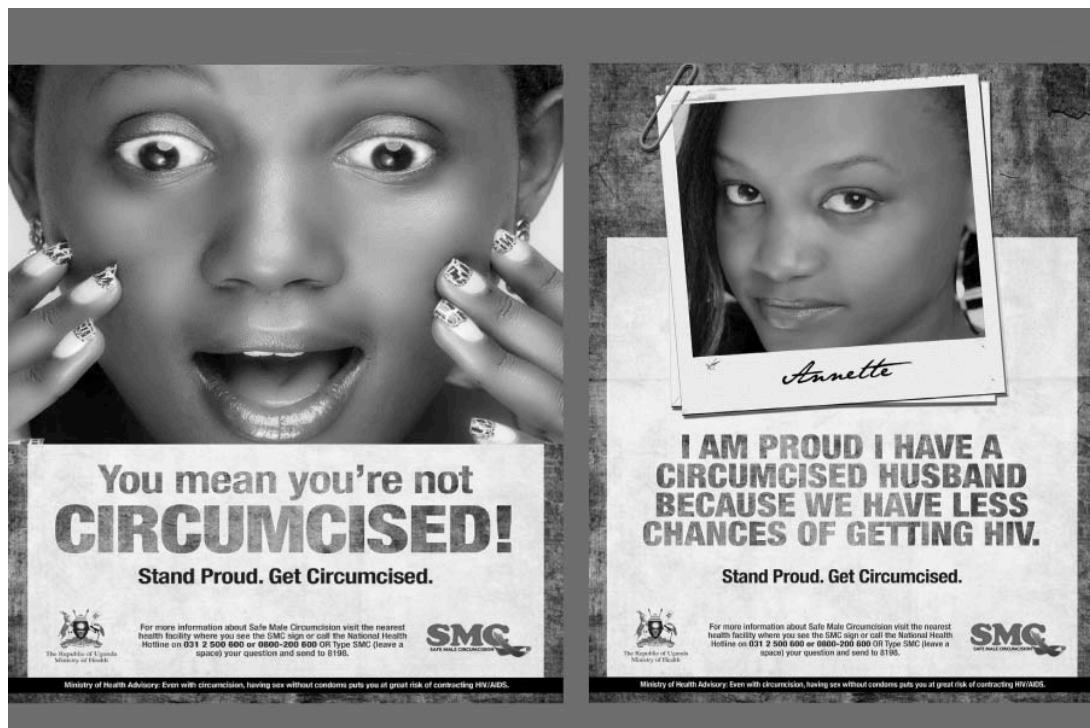
Ssempea's point is valid. The quality of the free condoms distributed by Health Ministries and NGOs are often substandard or expired, and condom shortages have proved a persistent problem (Daily Monitor, 14/2/2013). Often the condoms for sale are highly sexualised, aligned with immorality and promiscuity [see Chapter II]. Yet, a relevant discourse that encourages the use of quality condoms is markedly absent from public discussions at *One Love*. More often condoms are framed as dangerous and ineffective, and ‘legitimise promiscuity’. The condom itself encapsulates negative associations of sexual impurity, over that actual occurrence of premarital or extramarital sex. This speaks to *One Love*'s desire to remove “church[es] from actively being involved in condom[s]”, and along with premarital sex, condoms exist in an invisible domain (Ssempea Interview, May 2012).

Several years ago, Pastor Ssempea—along with several members of his church—attended the World AIDS Conference in Bangkok in an effort to promote his abstinence and monogamy efforts. A young member of the church stood before the international community recounting his own journey towards abstinence. He claimed, “I was sexually active and I made the decision to abstain, [and] they booed

me. They said I was not normal” (One Love Interview, May 2012). Pastor Ssempe also recalled the event. For Ssempe, “the message of abstinence is hated. It is seen as an imposition of personal liberties...[but] we succeeded here with [abstinence] and it created hostility. For them [Western groups] the best way for fighting HIV is promoting gay rights and throwing condoms” at the issue (Ssempe Interview, May 2012). For Ssempe the condoms over abstinence debate is demonstrative of a greater ideological tension between the West and Uganda, where both worlds stand at the opposite ends of moral poles.

In Uganda “the strength of the family...is at the heart of overcoming the HIV/AIDS crisis” (Ssempe Interview, May 2012). For Ssempe the West is in a state of moral decay. North American and “European culture [are] broken down, because of the breakdown of personal morality and faith. In Africa we have strong families, strong faith and where you find that you have diminished promiscuity” and reduced transmission of HIV/AIDS (*ibid*). Church members’ testimonies—including Ssempe’s—rearticulate the role that their own rebirth had in establishing self-discipline. Condoms are constructed as a threat to that self-discipline. Life before spiritual conversion is repeatedly described as “reckless”, “dangerous”, and “out of control” (One Love Interview, May 2012). Individual salvation at *One Love* serves to establish control, and condoms undermine that system by allowing pre-marital and extra-marital sex to be free from any repercussions.

At *One Love* HIV/AIDS should retain a stigma, because a reduced stigma contributes to growing rates. Rather than condoms, *One Love* suggests that the stigma surrounding HIV in the late 1980s helped reduce its prevalence in Uganda. According to a church pastor, “they wanted to have a Miss HIV positive [beauty pageant in Uganda]. We said no. Are you going to do a Miss Gonorrhoea? A Miss Cancer? How can you make a disease beautiful...people stopped being afraid of HIV” and *that* is when it began to re-emerge (Jerome Interview, June 2012). Male circumcision is similarly framed. The Safe Male Circumcision Campaign, promoted by the Ministry of Health in 2010, sparked heavy criticism from *One Love*.



(Fieldwork Photos, Kampala: May, 2012)

The campaign was the result of research by the Ugandan AIDS Commission and UNAIDS, which attributed the increased rates of infection to married couples, “the largest proportion (43%) of new infections occurs in the mutually monogamous heterosexual sex category, which includes almost half the population” (UAC, 2009:16). One of the billboards proclaims, “I am proud I have a circumcised husband because we have less chances of getting HIV” (Fieldwork Observation, May 2012). Disapproval of the circumcision campaign is attributed to its flawed message, “that is a stupid message...it is insulting”, said a respondent, since it implies that husbands will not be faithful to their wives (One Love Interview, May 2012).

Members of *One Love* reject the UAC’s findings. One senior staff member said, “I challenged that research in parliament that says married people” have higher rates of HIV (Jerome Interview, June 2012). To *One Love*, the campaign is reductive and suggests innate immorality on the part of Ugandan men. It signifies that men will cheat and therefore women must protect themselves. Yet, much of the discourse emanating from *One Love* functions in a similar vein. Man is not in control; God grants self-discipline.

Yet the circumcision campaign is far from the only public initiative seen to undermine the AB[C] approach. Speaking at a Sunday services, Ssempe condemned Legislation passed by the East African Legislative Assembly in 2012. Standing before his congregation he proclaimed “they are passing a Bill in Arusha to legalise homosexuality under the guise of fighting HIV/AIDS within it is a component to release homosexuals on your children” (One Love Participant Observation, May 2012).

The Legislation was the East African Legislative Assembly HIV & AIDS Prevention and Management Bill, which calls for rights-based responses to HIV/AIDS—“providing all people affected by HIV across the partner states...with enforceable rights to equality, non-discrimination and universal access” to HIV preventative treatment and support (HIV & AIDS Bill, 2012:1). When defining the “range of populations” the Bill assures access to care to people regardless of gender or “sexual practices” (HIV & AIDS Bill, 2012:2). In an interview Ssempe clarified that the Legislation was “drafted in New York and brought to [East Africa] by UNAIDS and DFID [as a]...protracted effort to change locally developed methods against HIV to universal access to all...which is a misnomer” (Ssempe Interview, May 2012).

Ssempe denounced the Legislation privately for its ability to weaken the ‘local’ ABC initiative, but in his public pulpit he sensationalised the Bill, claiming it mandates homosexuality. While Ssempe credits ABC as a “locally developed method” to combat the spread of HIV/AIDS, the abstinence, monogamy and condom approach to prevention actually grew out of legislation during the Reagan administration in the United States “with the passage of the Adolescent Family Life Act, signed into law in 1981 as Title XX of the Public Health Service Act. The Legislation’s primary goal was to prevent premarital teen pregnancy” (Evertz, 2010:7).

Universal access is a “global commitment to scale up access to HIV treatment, prevention, care and support” (UNAIDS, 2011). Yet, Ssempe believes that the terminology ‘universal access’ is a veiled attempt to legitimise “gay rights and feminism...a code word for vagueness where anything can be prevention” (Ssempe



Interview, May 2012). Claiming that he endorses all methods of HIV/AIDS prevention, he said, “I support ABC and circumcision, I support everything. I specialise in abstinence and being faithful. I don’t supply abortions. I find it is as if people expect you to do everything. I challenge people to abstain” (*ibid*).

Preventative methods that fall outside of abstinence are not included in public discourse, reflecting the unyielding ‘one standard of righteousness’ at *One Love*. HIV/AIDS has been a cornerstone of Pastor Ssempe’s history and that of *One Love*. Yet, recently Ssempe is more commonly known for his outspoken stance on another *moral failure* threatening the nation, homosexuality.

### ***Diffused Immorality: [Homo]Sexuality and State Autonomy at One Love***

At *One Love* HIV/AIDS and sexuality are inextricable. Divergent sexualities are seen as the result of Western cultural and economic hegemony. *One Love* uses restrictions on aid and regional legislation to illustrate the influence, but said one member, “you cannot threaten us, stay with your mosquito nets. We had Bush giving us money for abstinence and monogamy programmes and [North Americans and Europeans] want to kill him” (Jerome Interview, June 2012).

Homosexuality is framed as a learned behaviour, rather than a biological reality. Learned homosexuality comes from the West. In many ways discursive constructions of homosexuality are indicative of the late neoliberal moment and postcolonial legacy. Expressing anxieties over a history of colonialism and neo-imperialism in Uganda, sexuality represents frustrations over a perceived lack of state autonomy and self-determination.

Ssempe is an outspoken advocate for the Legislation proposed by MP David Bahati, stating the Bill ensures the protection of male and female children from homosexual rape, suppresses “conspiracies to promote homosexuality”, and will protect the nation from the “International groups which are coersing [*sic*] homosexuality down our throats ie [*sic*] France and Netherlands at the UN” (Ssempe, 2010).

Pastor Ssempe's remarks reflect the common conspiratorial frame of homosexuality within the PC community, part of an international liberal agenda to degrade 'traditional' morality in exchange for hedonism as human rights. The comment underscores conceptions that conflate homosexuality and paedophilia. Lacking the moral discipline salvation provides, homosexuality is perceived as outside of the bounds of consensual adult relationships—a predatorial lifestyle aimed at exploiting children. This reflects the understanding of homosexuality as a learned practice, rather than an inherent identity or suppressed desire. Homosexuals must replicate by 'teaching' it to children.

While Western accounts attribute the impetus for the Legislation with North American charismatic leaders (Sharlet, 2010), Ssempe insists it was conceptualised by Ugandans. In an interview published on Ssempe's blog, he claims:

This is an African, home grown effort for Ugandans by Ugandans...this clash is a global clash of culture and ideology. Uganda is a battle ground for the global clash on HIV/AIDS policies as well as the issue of homosexuality. The west including Obama\ [sic] Hilarly [sic] Clinton\George Soros say it is a human right. But Africans say, it is a HUMAN VICE... It's offensive to me that every time a black man does something good, you have to say that a white man told us to do it. That's really offensive to me. We feel that even those Americans who came here, they are wimps. And they have been blamed for this law. They've all screamed no, we have nothing to do with it. Why don't we accept that Africans can make an anti-homosexuality law? Why do you have to blame somebody else? (Ssempe, 2010).

By declaring that the Legislation is home grown, Pastor Ssempe positions heteronormative sexuality as an inherent and traditional identity, synonymous with Ugandan identity. According to Ssempe the rich and long history of East African civilisation is "handed down from father to son through families, clans, tribes, and kingdoms". However, homosexuality threatens African identity by violating the law of culture, faith, nature, and Ugandan law (Ssempe, 2010).<sup>45</sup>

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<sup>45</sup> At the time of Ssempe's statement under the existing Ugandan penal code sodomy was already illegal.

Recently Ssempe was recognised by fellow born-again leaders and Ugandan PC umbrella organisations for his fight against homosexuality and impurity. In 2008 Pastor Ssempe was honoured by Apostle Alex Mitala, the leader of the umbrella organisation the National Fellowship of Born-Again Churches (NFBAC), at the ‘Great Marriage Celebration’ (New Vision, 14/9/2008).

The event reflected the focus in PCCs on the importance of marriage and the perceived threat that homosexuality presents to the institution. Mitala stated, “you [Ssempe] are not fighting alone...when men marry each other and women marry women, clans and tribes become extinct” (New Vision, 14/9/2008). While numerous factors are seen to undermine marriage—including illegitimate marriage and the Marriage and Divorce Bill—homosexuality is framed to invalidate the very institution, which would destabilise the future of Uganda by halting the reproduction of the Ugandan people.<sup>46</sup>

While Ssempe has been singularly portrayed in the Western media over his stance on homosexuality, he claims these depictions are typical and widespread. According to Ssempe, “If you cannot argue with someone make it look like we are obsessed and uneducated...God sent his position on sodomy in all of its expressions, the failure to engage us logically. What are the benefits of sodomy? So they create a hysteria ‘they want to kill us’ and they have succeeded” (Ssempe Interview, May 2012).

At a sermon at *Makerere Community* Ssempe elaborated on homosexuality and the moral degradation of the Western world. According to Ssempe “homosexuality is bent on destroying the world...promiscuity and sodomy are promoted [in the West] and the sun has set on the British Empire” (Makerere Participant Observation, May 2010). In the West churches have been converted to strip clubs (*ibid*). For Ssempe this moral decay reflects a lack of spirituality and a de-emphasis of the family. Using Britain as a case study he noted, “The population cannot be sustained, women are no longer giving birth, because these countries are hostile to the family” (*ibid*).

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<sup>46</sup> The Marriage and Divorce Bill would update laws, extend women’s rights and make rape within marriages illegal. Criticisms of the Bill state it undermines traditional and religious beliefs of marriage and property and relies on Western values (Hore, 19/9/2013).

In place of family, Europeans have become “excited about homosexuality” (Makerere Participant Observation, May 2010). Ssempea proceeded to outline the West’s four-step approach to promote homosexuality. First homosexuality is tolerated. Homosexual groups then seek minority status. This is followed with a push for equality. Finally comes the eventual celebration of homosexuality. Ssempea asked the congregation to “pray for Europe for sodomy and lesbianism” (*ibid*). Highlighting homosexuality as a learned behaviour the Pastor declared that:

They say if you are a homosexual you cannot come out of it, Obama says you can do anything you want to be [*sic*] except not a homosexual. In England if you object to your children being told sodomy is okay you will be arrested, if you do not like homosexuality, if you make them feel bad they will put you in jail for seven years (Makerere Participant Observation, May 2010).

Ssempea inverted Western and Ugandan legal codes. While his own country threatens to imprison homosexuals, in the West you are imprisoned for merely objecting to your children learning about homosexuality, or making them ‘feel bad’. His sermons sensationalise the immediate threat of the ‘colonising Western homosexual’, deliberately distorting and simplifying the legal ramifications of hate crimes and discrimination in the Western world, while merging the factual with the fictitious to spark a moral panic. Homosexuals are not a marginalised community. For Ssempea they are an empowered and influential constituency—seemingly *the* most influential lobby for Western governments. The remark further locates homosexuality as learned practice by emphasising the need to ‘educate’ the young. For Ssempea homosexuality is merely “a form of sexual addiction—like bestiality and masturbation—if you find Jesus you can be transformed”, a sin not a sexuality (Makerere Participant Observation, May 2010).

While likening homosexuality to bestiality Ssempea aims to demonstrate the ‘unnaturalness’ of the practice. Yet, with the Holy Spirit the immoral practice—just as with a life of heterosexual promiscuity and immorality—can be transformed. There is no apparent spectrum of sin at *One Love*—sin is sin. As opposed to a Catholic conception where sin is ordered, at *One Love* all sin is created equal.

According to Ssempe, “HIV and sodomy...are transgressions against God, the law of the land...and [our] social debt by transgressing the law of our culture. It creates an abnormality in the law of nature” (Ssempe Interview, May 2012). Ssempe claims he has ‘rehabilitated’ numerous homosexuals. Ssempe’s own past self was ‘rehabilitated’ from promiscuity, and while One Love’s discourse on homosexuality seems particularly vitriolic it is in no way condemning its practice more than heterosexual promiscuity.

The view at *One Love* is that homosexuality will stunt the population and deter the development of a better future, pre-marital sex will invariably result in HIV. It is unclear if the Pastor’s words suggest a deliberate Western conspiracy to depopulate the region. However, the depopulation claim is one that has found footing throughout East Africa.<sup>47</sup> Ssempe sees himself as a champion of the nation, protecting national interest. According to Ssempe, “I was voted the number one pastor in the country...you become like your leader...DFID determines what is discussed [on a national level] they are concerned with human rights...[but] I am an educated man...I see myself as an apostle for my country” (Ssempe Interview, May 2012).

For Ssempe national law cannot be divorced from faith. Above all born-again identity must take precedence. At the end of a sermon Ssempe asked an audience member to testify, “this man is an anthropologist [at Makerere University]. What do you teach your students? That homosexuality is okay?” (One Love Participant Observation, May 2012). The man stood, and facing the audience he responded, “Out of the question, I teach them that marriage is between a man and a women, it is wrong otherwise” (*ibid*). As the man returns to his seat, Pastor Ssempe proclaims, “Lord make us like Martin Luther King so we can bring freedom and justice to Uganda” (*ibid*). His closing remark further situates how Pastor Ssempe sees himself, a transformative leader and liberator of his nation. Yet, it displays a recurring

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<sup>47</sup> The population conspiracy was expressed by the East African executive director of the American founded pro-life organisation Human Life International, Emil Hagamu. Hagamu claimed that the advocacy of reproductive rights and HIV/AIDS throughout the region are a deliberate attempt to depopulate East Africa, citing that pro-choice legislation in Tanzania and reproductive rights in Zambia are a “foreign ideology that is being imposed on our African culture whose objective is depopulation” (White, 2012:np).

contradiction at *One Love*. While condemning the West and its values, Ssempe draws upon the West as a model for his revolution, using the example of the American civil rights leader and Baptist pastor, Martin Luther King.

Yet for Ssempe, the Western “world has capsized”. Leaders like Barack Obama support immorality, and institutions like Harvard and Oxford are inherently corrupt (Makerere Participant Observation, May 2010). Even faith is not out of the bounds of moral degradation, as Ssempe illustrates in the public allegations of homosexuality levied against *Miracle Centre’s* Pastor Robert Kayanja.

***The Martyr and the Healer: Exploring Doctrinal Tension within PCCs in Kampala***

Homosexuality reveals tensions beyond the global and local or traditional. In Kampala homosexuality is central to unlocking the tensions that exist between fellow PCCs. While *Miracle* represents the ‘global’, *One Love* embodies the ‘national’. On Ssempe’s personal blog his photograph is positioned above the caption “For God and My Country”, the national motto of Uganda (Ssempe, 2010).

The latest post dates to December 2010, and addresses the “conspiracy against Pastor Kayanja’s accusers” after Ssempe accused Kayanja of sodomy [see Chapter IV]:

I along with a few pastors have been highlighted to be charged by the police...for allegedly conspiring to injure the reputation of Pr Kayanja!...I am very embarrassed that now pastors are in the news for all issues....Sodomy...It would have made sense for the police to go after me if; Smuggled wines were found in **my** home, or **I** was found to be driving a stolen vehicle by intepol [*sic*]. It would make sense if **I** made failed prophecies about the death of some opposition politicians or if **my** associate pastors were involved in husband snatching or in court for sodomy! If I was in court on why I carried several passports or why **I** was moving around with small group of armed men with AK-47s...But all this does not make sense...If the preaching of the truth and helping the victims of abuse leads me through some valley of hardship then I will go through it. My prayer is that I will be a history maker for the glory of God[...].Martin Ssempe (Ssempe, 2010).<sup>48</sup>

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<sup>48</sup> Interpol and the Ugandan Police seized Pastor Kayanja’s car in an investigation of stolen vehicles (One Love Interview, May 2012).

Within the references to a barrage of public allegations against Pastor Kayanja, Ssempe refers to his ‘failed prophecy’. This statement highlights Kampala PCCs—particularly *Miracle’s*—emphasis on prophecy and political influence. Regarding the 2006 presidential elections, Pastor Kayanja predicted that “there are going to be five candidates who will stand, two will drop off and one will die. Of the three, the winner will get 61.8 percent” of the vote (New Vision, 1/1/2006).

A year prior Kayanja proclaimed that “only [the] candidates that are favouring the Lord’s cause shall win the 2006 elections”. He concluded that God’s glory would wash over Uganda, transforming the nation and “begging culture” as politicians were becoming born-again (New Vision, 1/1/2006).<sup>49</sup> This speaks to both Kayanja’s support of the NRM and President Museveni, as well as the changing relationship between PCCs and politics. Most profoundly it indicates the desire within all of the churches under consideration to develop the nation through individual conversion, taking rebirth beyond individual salvation to a national agenda, which will serve as the impetus for the economic, moral, and physical transformation of the country.

Ssempe not only condemns Kayanja’s public persona, but the allegations reject the key tenets of *Miracle Centre*, the prosperity gospel and faith healing. *Miracle Centre* exists in the realm of the divine, exalting believers into an otherworldly sphere. Yet, if Kayanja represents the intangible, *One Love* exemplifies a more pragmatic and corporeal approach, reliant on behavioural modification by accepting the Holy Spirit.

Ssempe acknowledges that “God can do anything...but miracles are the exception not the norm...[instead] God uses medical treatment...there is a culture to exaggerate the occurrence of such [miracles] and make it look extremely common...this is for selfish ends...it has a financial tie” (Ssempe Interview, May 2012). For Ssempe this is the “dark side of Pentecostalism” a side that uses people’s hope in the miraculous for financial gain, personified by Kayanja.

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<sup>49</sup> Begging culture refers to a dependence on donor aid and overall poverty.

The allegations illustrate the tensions between what each church represents. *Miracle*, with its global ties, symbolises the outside world for Ssempe, and Kayanja is made impure through his external associations. Homosexuality is a trait of the West, and Kayanja is contaminated by Western values when he advocates for his church members, to “compare yourself to the West, emulate the West” (Miracle Participant Observation, January 2012).

Beyond *Miracle* and *One Love*, the tension between the two churches demonstrates the infighting in the Pentecostal community. For Ssempe PCCs need reform. Pentecostalism in Kampala is composed of two distinct branches and the movement suffers from “a typical lack of systems and [a universal] doctrine for the good things they all believe in...[the abuses] have diminished our ability to effectively minister” because our trust has been broken. Continuing Ssempe asks, “How does that give us credibility in our strong message of abstinence and strengthening the family?” (Ssempe Interview, May 2012).

Citing the movement’s early ties to the East African Revival or *balakole* [see Chapter II]—which Ssempe claims provides the PC emphasis on strong families—the church has moved away from its foundational beliefs. Instead much of Ugandan Pentecostalism—according to Ssempe—focuses on a cult of personality built around the charismatic leader (Ssempe Interview, May 2012). Ssempe declares the way forward is embracing the formative tenets of *balokole*, returning to the past, which he interprets as sexual purity and the family.

Both *Miracle* and *One Love* seek to transform the nation, yet their paths diverge. Ssempe places the onus of transformation on the individual, through behavioural modification and sexual purity. Kayanja locates it in an infusion of the divine into everyday life. Economically the churches differ, both in their actual finances and *Miracle*’s incorporation of the prosperity gospel. The variances of church doctrine represent the great polarity throughout all Pentecostal-Charismatic Churches in Kampala. Ssempe uses his denunciation of Kayanja as a symbol of the “decline in the lack of standards you see in churches built around strong men who don’t have



sexual accountability. The Pentecostal movement is reeling from that, those two sides of Pentecostal expression” (Ssempe Interview, May 2012).

For Ssempe sexual accountability is the cornerstone of his own spiritual transformation and his church. Two years after Pastor Ssempe published the blog entry, he was convicted for “conspiring to tarnish Pastor Kayanja’s reputation” (Daily Monitor, 3/10/2012). Donning his ubiquitous black robes, a symbol of his Baptist beginning and his theological training, as Ssempe left the courthouse Kayanja’s supporters rejoiced in song.

While *Miracle Centre* and *One Love* demonstrate tremendous theological variance, both congregations’ views on feminism and homosexuality are similar, grounded in the hope of transforming Uganda into a nation predicated on born-again values. A staff member at *Girl Power* explained that the United States and Uganda are the only two nations that have God as the foundation. Both nations were founded on ‘Godly’ principles (Miracle Interview, March 2012). However, the U.S. has forgotten God and now looks to education, a sentiment that is often echoed at *One Love*.

During a Sunday service at *One Love* Ssempe denounced the Ugandan academic Sylvia Tamale. Proclaiming, “another generation has come up, we raise leadership for the nation. The need to redeem the study of feminism...a certain woman needs to be pushed out of Makerere” (One Love Participant Observation, May 2012). Never one to be accused of understatement, Ssempe clarified, “How do we build leaders who know the words of the bible? We need leaders who believe God” (*ibid*). Ssempe continued his sermon referencing the biblical figure Esther, whom he admires for her sense of patriotism. For Ssempe, Esther used her talents for throwing parties to further the interests of her people.

Ssempe continued by contrasting Esther with the former and first female Vice President of Uganda, Specioza Kazibwe, who filed for a divorce from her husband after he allegedly assaulted her. “Recently” he said, “the second family has a public problem. Her husband told his wife why have you come home at 3 in the morning. She told her husband ‘I am the VP’, and he slapped the VP. When you are in your

family, even if you are the chief justice your husband is still your chief” (One Love Participant Observation, May 2012). Returning to Dr Tamale, the pastor declared, “I need to address feminism. ‘I’m Sylvia Tamale. To me as a feminist I don’t need to take a man’s name.’ I agree if you are marrying a man whose name is not worth taking” (*ibid*).

Pastor Ssempe continued by questioning the validity of Tamale’s marriage, and he offered his service to marry Tamale in a ‘legitimate’ service. Ssempe encouraged the women listening to be like Esther, who won the king’s heart through his stomach, who built ‘meaningful relationships’ to offer a better future for her nation. Concluding his sermon he asked the parishioners to:

Pray for this generation of leaders in Uganda...we should raise Esthers. Africans must stop being desperate to go to the United States...raise leaders who won’t sell our nation...pray for Museveni and Janet to lead our nation...pray for all of our politicians and wives. Pray for Sylvia Tamale and her husband and redeem her from when she studied sex in America, redeem us from sodomy, and our evil ways. May [Tamale] become a member of our church and we will conduct her wedding (One Love Participant Observation, May 2012).

While speaking to *One Love*’s position on feminism, which Ssempe credits with undermining the family—and seemingly professional women who have suffered the ‘influence’ of Western values—the sermon voices a perspective that unifies *One Love* and *Miracle*, the need to raise the future generation of leaders, or what Gusman (2009) refers to as the ‘Joseph Generation’ in Uganda. This necessitates the Legislation, to help regulate the morality of the individual citizenry. Yet, if believers do go astray into a world of homosexuality, Ssempe offers salvation.

### ***Reformed Sexuality: Rehabilitating Homosexuality at One Love***

As homosexuality is learned, according to *One Love* it can be unlearned. The Makerere anthropologist—and director pastor at the church—Jerome has counselled numerous homosexuals attempting to reform. Jerome teaches at Makerere University and studied Peace Keeping in Italy for a master's degree in 2005. According to Jerome it is possible to separate yourself as both a pastor and an anthropologist, but there are areas that prove at odds. One of those topics is homosexuality, “Ssempe asked me to do research [but] I cannot do work for him because I cannot write against him. I am interested in the family and masculinity” (Jerome Interview, June 2012).

Jerome reiterated Ssempe's view that homosexuality has only been a small element of a ministry that focuses on HIV and sexual purity. Yet, one of his roles includes counselling homosexuals who want to reform. According to Jerome “I've counselled more than ten former homosexuals. I know them. I have had people in my home...homosexual men need a man to mentor them on being a man. For us homosexuality in Uganda is new” (Jerome Interview, June 2012).

Jerome explained the need for the Legislation. The church “should be the number one place for rehab. But the church cannot do it without policy...if a boy is doing homosexuality he can be rehabbed by the church. Let them have a place they can go” (Jerome Interview, June 2012). For Jerome the Legislation reinforces church efforts for reform.

Yet, his insistence on the practice being new is soon contradicted. Reiterating the colonial theme, Jerome continues, “The Mzungu [white man] brought us the Bible. The Bible had the word sodomy...it has been injected. Homosexuality has been here. We've had homosexuality inside of the palace. These white people came with their Bibles, and now they say the Bible is wrong and we are wrong in our interpretation” (Jerome Interview, June 2012). For *One Love* homosexuality is clearly addressed in the Bible, for example in Leviticus, “thou shalt not lie with mankind, as with womankind: it is abomination” (Leviticus, 18:22 KJV). As a vice should be

approached like any other ‘moral failure’, as Jerome says, “like cannibalism, people will tell you that they eat people, but Mzungus cannot come and defend that to me. Homosexuality is the same thing as cannibalism. I want cannibals to get saved” (Jerome Interview, June 2012).<sup>50</sup>

Jerome’s statement points to the view at *One Love* that homosexuality is a learned practice, and that the majority of homosexuals have simply lacked an appropriate ‘male’ role model. Yet, the statement is contradictory. If the practice of homosexuality is merely the failure of a heteronormative model to ‘learn masculinity’, his suggestion implies that heterosexuality is equally a social construct. While signifying that homosexual desire is more than a cultural construct—as in the absence of a suitable ‘masculine model’—and practitioners have succumb to *inherent* desires. At times Jerome positions homosexuality through an essentialist perspective, more than a social constructivist one, acknowledging that the practice is not as ‘un-African’ as it is framed in *One Love* discourse.

Jerome claims to know numerous reformed homosexuals. He states, “I know people who are no longer living as homosexuals. It has a certain kind of stigma” (Jerome Interview, June 2012). Yet, he acknowledges that the process is not always successful. According to Jerome, “One man said, ‘Pastor I’ve slept around’, and we [began] counselling again...I meet people who have failed ” (*ibid*). *One Love* began work on homosexuality through health initiatives at local schools, which gave way to conflating homosexuality with paedophilia in church discourse. Jerome claims numerous students approached members of the church and told them they had been sodomised (*ibid*).

In addition to the deliberate conflation of the terms, language and translation are significant in understandings of both paedophilia and homosexuality at *One Love*. According to Jerome, “In my language we have no word for homosexuality. I first heard this word in my high school. People would say ‘okulya e bisigga’ that is the

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<sup>50</sup> While the plural form of the Swahili word for mzungus, often meaning white foreigner, is wazungu, during the interview ‘mzungus’ was used.

first time I'd heard people telling me...it means eating...you eat food" (Jerome Interview, June 2012).<sup>51</sup>

The perception that homosexuals recruit young people mimics *One Love's* multilateral approach to HIV/AIDS. As *One Love* "reach out to students, we get them in secondary school, we equip them...they grow up to be responsible adults" by asking them to abstain, their interpretation of homosexual recruitment adopts a similar strategy (Makerere Interview, 2010).

For Jerome, Western criticism over African interpretations of scripture and homosexuality are imbued with racism and suggests a failure and lack of sophistication in African thinking. The Western media has stressed the close ties between Pastor Ssempe and North American evangelical churches, even suggesting the Bill was introduced at the urging of North American evangelicals (Sharlet, 2010). Yet, Jerome echoes Pastor Ssempe's insistence that the Bill is home grown.

Jerome insists their views have been misrepresented in the international press. According to Jerome, "When you tell me you are a homosexual I am not scared [of you]...do I kill him if he refuses to get saved, we have rejected Mzungus telling us homosexuality is a human right...Mzungus come here funding sodomy" (Jerome Interview, June 2012). The statement reflects a common conception of PCCs, that not only is homosexuality taught by Westerners, but 'the West' funds homosexuality through human rights initiatives.

According to Jerome LGBTI groups in Uganda, like SMUG and *Icebreakers*, appeal to the United States for funding. The death of David Kato increased the amount of money pouring into Ugandan LGBTI organisations. Yet, he insists Kato's death was not linked to his sexuality. Jerome claimed, "He fought with a guy, he didn't pay him. The entire world was mourning his death...but you never see a human rights

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<sup>51</sup> While unconfirmed, the translation to eating could partially explain Ssempe's fixation on 'eating' in the *You Tube* video.

defender from the United States say don't slaughter young children. They only come out when a homosexual has been killed" (Jerome Interview, June 2012).

The inaccurate and exaggerated rhetoric is effective in the church community. One member reinforced Jerome's view, "Human rights are only concerned with homosexuals...they don't care about other abuses...they don't care that gays from the West are recruiting our children" (Jerome Interview, July 2012). The criticism of global human rights activists and human rights discourse works to delegitimise claims for human rights by the local LGBTI community.

Yet, an interview at the LGBTI organisation *Icebreakers* refutes *One Love's* claim of Western finances, "most people [in Uganda] think gay activists are rich, but most people volunteer because of the gay Bill" (Icebreakers Interview, April 2012). However, international organisations are hesitant about providing financial support because they do not want to be "recognised as funding to say that they are pushing the gay agenda" (*ibid*). *Icebreakers* claim many PCCs work with 'reformed homosexuals', even paying them to speak against LGBTI organisations:

A former [gay] activist who was always in trouble. He called himself Georgina. He had money problems and Ssempe used this to turn him against his own people with another group of not well-to-do gay men. They went and spread lies saying we recruit them, that we sent them to schools to teach them how to be gay. Now people listen to these former activists. Georgina went to church. He went to Makerere [One Love] and said he was cured and he was later kicked out of the church because he could not stop being gay. He tried to come back to our community, but we cannot accept him (Icebreakers Interview, April 2012).

While *One Love* denies the influence North American evangelicals have had in forming the Legislation, *Icebreakers* directly links the growth of the 'anti-gay movement' in Uganda to North America. *Icebreakers* sees the Legislation not as a moral issue, but a political one. David Bahati:

Knows the biggest percentage of the public hates the LGBT community in [Uganda], the public will think they care about their well-being [assuring him votes]...Ssempe is working directly with American evangelicals...Scott Lively...kicked off the anti-gay campaign, they keep saying it is Western and America funding gays, but it is Americans funding anti-gays (Icebreakers Interview, April 2012).

However, the idea of the Bill having external origins undermines the nationalist message at *One Love*. Ssempe sees a future independent of the West, and sexuality is used as a critique for a legacy of colonialism and the economic and cultural influence of the West that has defined Uganda post-independence. *One Love*'s autonomous vision for Uganda is contingent on a sexual purity that rejects all forms of divergent sexuality like promiscuity and homosexuality, to establish an ideal moral citizenry that can transform the nation.

While *One Love* has proved instrumental in changing the way sexuality is discussed in the public sphere—in turn sexuality has changed *One Love*—Ssempe has had a tremendous influence on the public and the nation. Ssempe is the image of the single charismatic leader so often associated with PCCs. Young churchgoers are encouraged by Ssempe's message of abstinence to transform the nation by first transforming themselves. The nationalist frame of discourse at *One Love* directly engages with sexuality and draws on the past to establish a moral citizenry to transform the nation. At *One Love* discourse on sexuality reveals tensions in governance and the negotiation of citizenship, and perpetuates the indistinct boundaries between the religious and the political.

Yet, one of the most influential churches in all of Uganda is *Watoto Church*, one of the largest and most established PCCs in Uganda, *Watoto* has tangible links to North America. Formed by Pastor Gary Skinner—of Canadian heritage but born in Zimbabwe to missionary parents—the church is a magnet for Western visitors. The church's vision is also transformative. Based upon *Watoto*'s 'seed strategy' of church planting, their image for Uganda is achieved in numbers, replicating the church through cell networks throughout Uganda and East Africa. If *Miracle* embodies

wealth and global glamour, and *One Love* exemplifies sexual purity and national autonomy, *Watoto* provides pragmatism and strategy to lift up the nation.



## CHAPTER VI

### WATOTO MEANS THE CHILDREN

#### **Raising the nation with pragmatism and integrity**

*“The church that I see is one that is relational, not theological. A church that rises up and captures the call of a Saviour to be the salt of the Earth and the light of the World, bringing hope to a devastated community.”*

*Pastor Gary Skinner (Watoto, 2012)*

*Watoto Church* is one of the largest and most established Pentecostal-Charismatic Churches in Kampala. While the other churches under consideration represent the ‘new wave’ of Pentecostalism that has grown rapidly throughout the past two decades—and are locally founded—*Watoto* embodies the exportation of North American Pentecostalism that was first seen in Kampala in the 1960s and developed with the Museveni regime. *Watoto* has strong North American ties, from its connection to the Pentecostal Assemblies of God in Canada to its founder Pastor Gary Skinner.

*Watoto* differs from the other churches under consideration in size, structure, and origin. Based on my research *Watoto* provides a pragmatic and patriarchal example of PC Christianity in Uganda, at times to the extent of infantilising its congregation in church discourse. Churchgoers are viewed as passive citizens, who require church intervention. Yet, *Watoto* neatly condenses broader processes occurring within the PC community in Kampala that are often obscured by church rhetoric, the multiplicity of themes, and the great diversity found in the other PCCs under consideration.

While *Miracle Centre* emphasises glamour, globalism, healing, and the prosperity gospel to attract a congregation, and *One Love* operates on a frame of sexual purity, nationalism, and rejecting the perceived moral degradation of the West as a form of

resistance to a multitude of forces.<sup>52</sup> *Watoto* offers pragmatism and planning, oriented towards the future. Its sermons function as ‘teaching opportunities’ to educate the congregation on how to be functional, contributing, and communal citizens.<sup>53</sup> Yet, like *Miracle* and *One Love*, *Watoto*’s lessons hold a greater purpose to transform the nation to a land of autonomy and prosperity, a land of plenty.

While the other churches under consideration promote transformation at a micro and macro level, *Watoto* clearly delineates a vision of the future in a practical blueprint on *how* to reform the individual, the family and the nation. *Watoto* strives to “change the culture” of Uganda. Patriarchal discourse, which often parallels a language of colonial missionaries pedagogy, tells believers to ‘break with a past’ (Meyer, 1998) of “tribalism, corruption, and poor work ethic[s]” (Watoto Participant Observation, July 2012). At *Watoto*, Uganda is in need of Divine intervention and guidance, in great contrast to the kind of national autonomy advocated by *One Love*, and the spirit of inclusion into economic global systems and ‘modernity’ promoted at *Miracle*.

The following chapter is divided into six sections, beginning with an overview of the origin and structure of *Watoto Church*, continued with an examination of weekend services. By including the ‘everyday’ of the church an understanding of the discourse produced at *Watoto* establishes the church’s vision for both its congregation and nation. The next section considers *Watoto*’s drive to transform the individual through a pragmatic framework. This is followed by a macro examination of national change, through a focus on individual transformation, which helps delineate the Pentecostal project. Individual conversion and leading a ‘Godly’ life produces Divine favour, which will bring about a ‘new’ Uganda.

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<sup>52</sup> Forces *One Love* rejects in homosexuality include a history of British colonialism, Western neoliberal policy and reform, and the ‘looming threat’ of Western homosexual identity in the form of the LGBTI human rights movement.

<sup>53</sup> *Watoto*’s conception of citizenship is not rights-based, but identity-based, and employs an idea of communal imagined citizenship, to “forge a common identity and collective experience for” those deemed citizens (Adejumobi, 2001:79). The family is integral to this model and the vehicle for achieving ‘full’ citizenship. Notions of citizenship and the nation are bound to the family as well as to gender (McClintock, 1993:61).

The final section looks at members of *Watoto* at work in the public sphere and how *Watoto* members bring church discourse into action. Using the case study of the NGO *The Family Life Network*—founded by *Watoto* Elder Stephen Langa—this section clarifies how Pentecostal-Charismatic discourse at *Watoto* shapes broader political action occurring within Uganda. The final section exemplifies the meaning behind *Watoto* discourse. Believers are meant to transform themselves and bring their ‘kingdom-mindedness’ into all spheres of society to initiate moral change.<sup>54</sup> The chapter clarifies the drive for individual transformation, and how change or rebirth at a micro level is co-opted into broader societal progress in the eyes of the born-again community. This is necessary to understand how individual PC subjectivity translates to the state and citizenry.

The importance of *Watoto* to the larger body of work is paramount. In Uganda *Watoto* is the archetype of Pentecostalism and directly condenses the movement’s nationalist aims. On a practical level *Watoto* discourse explains the necessity of individual behavioural change. Inscribing moral behaviour, establishes an ideal citizenry, which then generates national transformation. As a result sexuality and health are crucial to transforming Uganda. From a spiritual perspective immorality stands in the way of Divine blessing, without which transformation is impossible.

### ***The Origins, Initiatives & Watoto Perspective***

Founded as *Kampala Pentecostal Church (KPC)*, *Watoto*’s origins began in 1982 when Pastor Gary Skinner moved his family to Uganda. Two years later Skinner, informally known as Pastor Gary, began *KPC* to ‘unite the community’ with an English speaking Pentecostal Church (Watoto, 2012)—working at first out of the Grand Imperial Hotel in downtown Kampala.

According to Skinner “sectarianism and tribalism had been cancers in the nation...the English language and the practice of true Pentecostalism would be a

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<sup>54</sup> Kingdom-mindedness is the concept of putting your PC identity first by bringing your beliefs into every aspect of your life. It is a way of not compartmentalising your religious beliefs but having them guide all parts of your life (Watoto Participant Observation, January 2012).

unifying factor” to the future of Uganda (Watoto, 2012). For Pastor Gary English was a fundamental element to unifying the country. In nationalist projects language lays “the bases for national consciousness...creat[ing] unified fields of exchange...communication” and belonging (Anderson, 1991:56-57).

Skinner claims God guided his vision and instructed him to:

Go plant an English-speaking church in downtown Kampala, Uganda. A church that is alive and not wild, conservative not dead. You’re going to sweat, shed tears and shed blood. But if you’re faithful, I will honour you and, through that church, I will touch the city...I will touch the nation (Watoto, 2012).

*Watoto* is now one of the largest and financially solvent churches in all of East Africa. It boasts a membership of over 20,000 strong (New Vision, 12/4/2009). Pastor Gary is a fourth generation preacher, born and primarily raised in Zimbabwe into a family of Canadian missionaries (Watoto, 2012). Soft-spoken, he radiates both wholesomeness and an unaffected nature, deserving of his approachable moniker. Negotiating his white skin, Pastor Gary claims he is an “African right to the core. I’m a third generation in Africa. My father and my grandfather both lived in Africa” (NTV Uganda, 2012).

In 1936 Skinner’s grandfather moved from North America to Kenya, and his family eventually found themselves in Zimbabwe. At the age of sixteen, Pastor Gary left home to attend bible-college in Canada. Upon graduating he began travelling throughout North America in an evangelical band playing the guitar. While in Canada he met his wife Marilyn and in 1979 the husband and wife relocated to Africa (NTV Uganda, 2012).

Skinner had never lived in East Africa until God ‘called him’ (NTV Uganda, 2012). Relocating to Uganda at a politically tumultuous time, the nation was devastated by years of civil war and social upheaval. He claims, “we would see bodies in the streets in the morning, we were broken into more times than we can remember, our first two cars we lost at gunpoint, so it was very difficult days” (*ibid*). Unlike *One Love*,

Skinner's wife Marilyn plays a vocal role, participating in sermons and speaking on behalf of *Watoto*. For Skinner, Marilyn "is a huge mentor to young African leaders, pastors and their wives...after thirty-eight years of marriage I love her more" (*ibid*).

Before beginning their ministry, the Skinners spent two years traveling throughout Uganda. It was through their travels that Pastor Gary formed his view of the role of the church for the nation. Long before the PC movement took shape in Kampala, Skinner concluded that the Christian church was divisive and failed to meet community needs (Watoto, 2012). Yet, Skinner felt "the practice of true Pentecostalism" would unify both the fragmented church and the nation (*ibid*).

*KPC* was launched with an ad aired at the conclusion of the Jimmy Swaggart programme, an American Pentecostal televangelist (Watoto, 2012). The advertisement "was captivating and relevant for its time and carried the promise of a Christian Church with a difference" (*ibid*). After two years at the Grand Imperial Hotel the congregation needed larger accommodations, and Skinner moved into an old cinema in downtown Kampala. According to Pastor Gary, the "building was dirty, rickety, the roof leaked so badly you had to have an umbrella when it rained...I said to God and Marilyn...'Oh what a waste of a fabulous building' and I had a vision...I saw it as it is today...and God gave" us the building (*ibid*). That cinema is now *Watoto Church Central*, the headquarters of the *Watoto* Empire. Out of *Watoto Central* six weekend services are necessary to accommodate the massive *Watoto* congregation.

Along frenetic Kampala Road the renovated three-storey building is forever full of churchgoers participating in weekly Bible study, youth outreach, or countless other events. Visiting cars and tour-buses spill out from the church's large adjacent parking lot. Throughout the day and late into the night the narrow staircases, offices, and meeting rooms are filled with churchgoers. Services are in the main auditorium—formerly the cinema—a large bright room with a second-storey balcony. The professionally lit stage houses the speaking pastor, guest speakers, the *Watoto* band, and weekly musical guests, like the famous Ugandan gospel singer

Judith Babirye. Rows of wooden pews are crowded together. Regardless of the numerous services—one on Saturday evening and five Sunday services—extra chairs fill empty space beside the pews to allow for additional seating. Services are recorded and available to download at the *Watoto* website and posted on *YouTube*.

In 2009 *KPC* celebrated their twenty-fifth anniversary. Nearly three decades after God gave them that ‘dirty, rickety’ building *KPC* re-emerged in an elaborate display of fireworks as *Watoto*, or ‘the children’ in Swahili (New Vision, 12/4/2009). The name comes from their *Watoto Children’s Choir*, which has performed for Queen Elizabeth and at the National Prayer Breakfast hosted by the United States Congress (Watoto, 2012). The choir grew out of the church’s extensive orphanages, or Children’s Villages. The name signifies the focus on the future and “is synonymous with the true meaning of what the church is meant to be...‘We cannot dwell on the past, we must embrace the future’” (Gary Skinner quoted in New Vision, 12/4/2009). Additionally, like *One Love*, because the new name is free from a specific geographic designation it allows for unlimited growth.<sup>55</sup>

In 1994 Pastor Gary and Marilyn began *Watoto Child Care Ministries* and the *Watoto Children’s Choir* in response to children orphaned by the HIV/AIDS epidemic. Skinner claims that “we began to find the most vulnerable orphans, the ones that were throw away babies” (NTV Uganda, 2012). The ministry now cares for over 2,600 orphaned Ugandan children (Watoto, 2012). The villages offer “a family setting rather than an institution...these children will be raised to become future leaders of Uganda and Africa” (*ibid*).<sup>56</sup>

The choir seldom performs at church services, but “tours the world...[to advocate for] the 14 million African children currently orphaned by AIDS” (Watoto, 2012). Outfitted in barkskin, Acholi beads, vibrant East African textiles, and leopard print trousers, the children perform with professionalism and precision, dancing and

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<sup>55</sup> While a Swahili word anchors *Watoto* to East Africa, it speaks more to its origins, and does not restrict church planting to the region.

<sup>56</sup> The Children’s Villages are structured in a nuclear family model. Children live in separate homes alongside a houseparent.

singing in perfect synchronicity to hand drums and keyboards. The choir has gained *Watoto* international recognition. Yet, their bright smiles are juxtaposed with graphic images of children in the throes of famine, violence, and illness.

At a *Watoto Central* performance the choir stood just off centre of a mist-filled stage. While the children sang the words to ‘African Lullaby’, images of the war-ravaged north were projected onscreen behind them.<sup>57</sup> Child soldiers ready semi-automatic weapons. Emaciated limbs and distended bellies are featured. *Watoto* is perceived as having ‘rescued’ the children from such horrors (WatotoUS, 2010). Thus does *Watoto* justify its mission and secure international donations.

This particular rendition of ‘African Lullaby’ is featured on *Watoto’s* North American *YouTube* page. Employing simplistic depictions—even the ‘traditional dress’ of the choir itself—is reminiscent of Wainaina’s article ‘How to Write about Africa’. For Wainaina, “never have a picture of a well-adjusted African...an AK-47, prominent ribs, naked breasts: use these...be sure to leave the strong impression that without your intervention...Africa is doomed...depopulated by AIDS and War” (Wainaina, 2005:np).

These images are not limited to the videos produced for the choir, but in Skinner’s very language. His accounts detail dead bodies lining the streets of Kampala and discarded children, to the dilapidated state of the building they rehabilitated for *Watoto Central*. Skinner’s portrayal of Uganda reinforces the transformative role *Watoto* has played in rebuilding the people and landscape to beaming smiles and restored facades. His role as ‘White Saviour’ is part of a discursive formation that works to reproduce material life, projecting a portrayal of “African peoples as passive and helpless” (Bell, 2013:3), thus internalising colonial narratives in the perceptions of *Watoto’s* believers.

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<sup>57</sup> The images were of Northern Uganda where the Lord’s Resistance Army was active from 1986 until approximately 2006. During the conflict around two million people were displaced, and nearly 70,000 children were abducted and used as child soldiers (U.S. State Department, 2012).

In a saga of war and disease, *Watoto* is the transformative protagonist. Recently the church opened a branch in the northern town of Gulu. In 2008 *Living Hope* was launched in Gulu and Kampala, the programme is “committed to transforming the lives of 1,200 women in Kampala and 900 women in Gulu. Left abandoned or widowed, the target group is HIV+ single women, returnees from abduction, and teenage mothers” (Watoto, 2012). *Living Hope* aims to restore dignity to vulnerable and marginalised women. To generate self-sustainability women are enrolled in vocational training programmes and micro-finance loans are available for small business enterprises (Living Hope Interview, May 2010).

In the promotional video for *Living Hope*, Marilyn explains, “Every girl has a dream...but for many women in Africa their dreams have been stolen from them” (Watoto, 2012). While Marilyn speaks, a montage of devastated women fades to black. Their dejected faces are quickly replaced with unrestrained optimism, as the ladies of *Living Hope* recount their stories of transformation (Watoto, 2012). Marilyn continues, “Poverty, war, disease, abandonment, human trafficking, child abduction, those are the things that have taken dreams from the women of Africa” (*ibid*). Treating “Africa as if it were one country” (Wainaina, 2005), the video universalises the life stories of *specific* women to encapsulate *all* ‘African’ women. The women were agentless before *Watoto*, yet with *Watoto*’s intervention self-sustainability is attainable, an essential element in the project of national transformation.

### ***The Structure and Organisation of Watoto Church***

While the church relies upon a team of pastors to deliver weekly sermons and ease the reproducibility of the *Watoto* model throughout East Africa, Pastor Gary remains the face of the church. Highly recognisable, the very mention of ‘Pastor Gary’ to everyday Ugandans conjures instant associations of *Watoto Church*. As God is our heavenly Father, Pastor Gary and Marilyn act as the surrogate parents to the *Watoto* congregation. Hierarchically structured, *Watoto* is overseen by a church council to outline policy. It boasts an extensive pastoral team for spiritual guidance, a team of deacons to draft daily procedures, and a team of elders to govern church doctrine



(Watoto, 2012). *Watoto* is comprised of over 2,000 cell groups and maintains eight churches in Uganda alone. On weekends *Watoto* offers twenty-two services in their Ugandan branches (*ibid*).

Five churches are located in and around Kampala, *Watoto Church Central* in Downtown Kampala, *Watoto Church North* in Ntinda-Kisaasi, *Watoto Church East* in Kazinga, *Watoto Church South* in Lubowa, and *Watoto Church West* in Kyengera. Beyond the capital is *Watoto Church Gulu* in Uganda's infamous 'war-ravaged' north, so often drawn upon in *Watoto* discourse and visual imagery. Two additional *Watoto* churches are a part of the larger *Watoto* Children's Villages. In order to maintain intimacy within the vast network of branches, *Watoto* is structured through smaller groups called cells.

Cells expand church influence and maintain a vigilant eye on the community. Cells comprise approximately five to ten people and cell leaders monitor community needs through weekly fellowships and report concerns back to the affiliated branch. Cells are the cornerstone of *Watoto*. Mirroring the physical body, "the cell ministry is taken from the analogy of the human body which is comprised of millions of cells which are interdependent. As cells form the basic units of life, home cell groups are the basic units of the cell church" (Watoto, 2012). Cells "create a rapport [with people] to know the community to meet needs. Through that rapport people open up about difficulties" be it HIV/AIDS, financial woes, or marital problems (Watoto Interview, May 2010).

Cell leaders are equipped with a weekly leader's guide to direct the fellowship. While in line with an institutionalised format, fellowships are also personalised to meet the group's individual needs. The fellowship opens with a standardized question that varies weekly. For example the guide instructs cell leaders to ask "Which is your best building in Kampala and why?" to steer the discussion to the topic of "building God's house" (Watoto Cell Guide, March 2012). Biblical text then reinforces the weekly theme to ground the discussion in scripture. In the intimate setting participants are able to relate scripture to their own life experiences, while establishing a direct relationship with the church and, subsequently, God. While

*Watoto* emphasises the personal it simultaneously incorporates an ethos of national reform and progress. *Watoto's* broader project employs a nationalistic and near colonial discourse of replication, reform, and transformation.

In 2012 *Watoto* led the 'Windows of Heaven' campaign, an annual *Miracle* 'Mission's Offering' drive. The project aimed to raise one million U.S. dollars in an effort to "support the extension of God's Kingdom in Israel, Burundi, [Rwanda], and towards planting Watoto Church Juba, South Sudan", and was a part of a larger mission to "bless three [African] nations" (Watoto, 2012). In 2012 *Watoto* launched *Watoto South Sudan* in the "world's youngest and newest nation" with Pastor Joe Ogwal (*ibid*). Church planting is a central principle at *Watoto*, to grow and multiply "bringing healing to the cities and nations" (*ibid*). The year before saw the launch of *Watoto Church Cape Town*. At the opening ceremony Pastor Gary commented that:

This expansion of God's kingdom is something we are very excited about and will always actively pursue. It has long been a dream of ours to see the Watoto model replicated across our beloved continent. We strongly believe the local church is the hope of the world, and so, true to form, the Watoto model will first be replicated with the launch of a life giving church (Watoto, 2012).

In Kampala *Watoto* is connected to the umbrella organisation the Pentecostal Assemblies of God (PAG). The PAG is an extension of the Canadian branch. When *Watoto* began in the 1980s it registered with the PAG, but with the ministry's rapid growth *Watoto* is now independently registered. According to the PAG, *Watoto* was initially a project out of the Pentecostal Assemblies of God Canada and the Pentecostal Assemblies of God Uganda. When *Watoto* began all of the pastors were ordained by the PAG.

At *Watoto* PAG registration is demonstrative of a more institutionalised and universal church doctrine. A pastor ordained by the PAG requires a standard of theological education that produces more uniform training among churches like *Watoto*. *Miracle Centre* is independently registered. *One Love* has no direct affiliation with any of the larger umbrella groups. These churches are responsible for

training pastors to their own standards and doctrinal beliefs. Consequently theological beliefs vary greatly among unaffiliated and independently affiliated PCCs.

Pastors at *Watoto* tend to exhibit more uniform theological understandings of scripture than the junior pastors at *Miracle* and *One Love*. Churches affiliated with the PAG also employ a more pragmatic approach towards the Divine and de-emphasise particular charismatic beliefs—like miracle healing—in lieu of the tangible. For example, in regard to HIV outreach, PAG affiliated churches stress medical intervention over faith healing (PAG Interview, December 2011).

### ***Weekend Service at Watoto Church***

Before Saturday evening or Sunday services begin, the auditorium fades to black and a highly produced video is projected above the stage. Graphic images of local violence, poverty, failing infrastructure, illness, and starvation emerge with the words “the people living in darkness have seen a great light on those living in the land of the shadow of death a light has dawned Matthew 4:16” (Watoto Participant Observation, January 2012).

The words fade to black as the familiar voice of Pastor Gary rises above the montage of hopeless imagery and news sound bites. The outline of Uganda develops from the darkness illuminated by a shining white light, the *light unto the nations*. Pastor Gary proclaims, “I believe that the church of the Lord Jesus Christ is the hope of the world, God has shaped this great church into a powerful and significant beacon of hope in the land of Uganda, and positioned her influence in the rest of Africa and around the world” (Watoto Participant Observation, January 2012).

The imagery of graphic poverty and illness is replaced with smiling faces, unified communities, and abundance. “If humanity had a hero”, the screen reads, “he is

Christ” (Watoto Participant Observation, January 2012).<sup>58</sup> An actor with long brown hair and a full beard takes shape, draped in white linen he steps into the sun’s rays and is illuminated by golden light. The music quickens pace:

I have a dream that injustice will roll back like the morning sun as the church of God becomes practical in its love. The church that I see is not just theological, but it’s relational. The church that rises up and captures the call of her Saviour to be the salt of the earth, and to be the light of the world, bringing hope to a devastated community. *Watoto* in Swahili means the children, but to the world that has grown to know and to love it, to the multitudes of children and women who have been rescued and raised by it, to the nation of Uganda and to the continent of Africa who have been empowered through it, *Watoto* is synonymous with the true meaning of what the church is meant to be. The church that I see is *Watoto Church* (Watoto Participant Observation, January 2012).

*Watoto* depends on technology. Videos resembling professionally produced commercials play before and during sermons, advertising the church and upcoming events. Of all of the churches under consideration, *Watoto* is the most technologically savvy. The church boasts an integrated and up-to-date website and an active *Twitter* account. The *Watoto* website outlines all upcoming events, and podcasts of sermons are available to stream.

Beyond *Watoto*’s technological expertise, the videos demonstrate the use of the antiquated colonial language adopted by the church, juxtaposing the modernity of technology with the entrenched language of colonial authorities.<sup>59</sup> The language invokes “many of the old tropes: Africa, savage and infantilized, devastated by slavery, its women disposed and its men laid low—all awaiting the white savior to regenerate them so that they might once more harvest their own crops” (Comaroff & Comaroff, 1997:124).

In *Watoto*’s vision the African populous is a passive, war-torn, and infantilised people in need of Divine intervention. Mirroring the language and contradictions of

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<sup>58</sup> The juxtaposition of images of poverty and illness works (im)moralises poverty, this is reinforced with other *Watoto* discourse that focuses on ‘overcoming’ poverty and ‘financial integrity’.

<sup>59</sup> It also demonstrates the competing and incongruous nature of *Watoto* discourse.

*One Love*, without the guidance of *Watoto* Africans are rendered hopeless, devastated, orphaned, and ill. Appropriated colonial language of conquest—bringing order to the dark wilderness—is prominent throughout church discourse. The church Skinner envisioned when he heard the divine voice of God was one that was “alive and not wild” positioning potential converts as both passive and animalistic (Watoto Participant Observation, January 2012). Yet such language is not limited to Divine intervention in the spiritual, but the practical and mundane as well.

*Watoto* is a vocal advocate for fiscal accountability for its parishioners, and it holds itself to the same standard:

Watoto Church is a Bible-based church and recognises the practise [*sic*] of tithes and offering by the voluntary membership. The church returns its tithe (10%) annually on the tithes and offering received by the membership to Pentecostal Assemblies of God (PAG), to which it is affiliated. Financial statements are prepared annually after a comprehensive assessment by independent auditors...The financial reports are compliant with International Financial Reporting Standards under the historical cost convention...Annual audited financial statements are presented at an Annual General Meeting open to the public every April (Watoto, 2012).

*Watoto's* financial records are available online. Financial responsibility is a perpetual theme. Church discourse encourages individual, church, and national fiscal accountability. Weekly sermons discuss financial planning, overcoming poverty, and tithing. Parishioners are taught to have ‘financial integrity’—or “aligning your financial decisions to biblical principles...involving the giving and receiving of money”—in their individual lives (Watoto Participant Observation, March 2012). While the sermons prove practical for any parishioners unfamiliar with fiscal budgeting, they also patronise listeners and suggest fiscal irresponsibility. The theme illustrates the tertiary approach to faith employed at *Watoto*: the individual, the family, and the nation.

As part of a three-fold series on personal, financial, and sexual integrity, Pastor Gary encourages parishioners that “we have somewhere fantastic to go [as a country]...we’ve had fifty bad years...we’ve had fifty years without a lot of

integrity. But we are going to have fifty phenomenal years and it is because we the next generation, well you the next generation, are going to rise up and be people of integrity” (Watoto Participant Observation, March 2012).<sup>60</sup>

The statement reveals the future orientation of *Watoto* and the perception of Uganda’s potential if Pentecostal-Charismatic ideology is adopted as a way of life. The correction of *we* to *you* reaffirms that it is the youth—Gusman’s (2009) ‘Joseph Generation’—who will be the carriers of change. Skinner claims “everything we do is about raising the next generation of young Ugandan leaders, who will bring transformation to their community. That transformation is what Uganda needs...that’s not going to happen through some political effort or some economic effort. It must begin with a change of heart, because all of us by nature are wicked” (NTV Uganda, 2012).

The sermon continues to explain that financial integrity does not stop with our individual bank accounts, but challenges the future of the nation. Echoing her husband, Marilyn adds that “the problem with Uganda is that we have not held close, we have not held tight to a strict code of financial ethics...but the good news is if we become people of financial integrity it results in strength, financial strength, financial security and financial blessing...that is what Uganda needs” (Watoto Participant Observation, March 2012). Along with pride and sexual integrity, the perceived absence of financial integrity is a central obstacle to obtaining God’s blessing and achieving national progress (*ibid*).

The sermon expands on the interconnections between sexual and financial integrity. According to Marilyn and Pastor Gary, “God gives us money to advance his kingdom here on Earth...to meet our personal needs...and to become a conduit of help to others...it comes back to our sexuality. He gives us sexuality to advance his kingdom, to have children...to preserve integrity and to preserve life” (Watoto Participant Observation, March 2012). The key to Biblical integrity is ambiguous, to live with divine faith and not fear. Yet, as the sermon unfolds the instructions

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<sup>60</sup> Integrity is used synonymously with morality.

become practical. *Watoto* provides a practical outline of fiscal management centred on living within your means. All parishioners are encouraged to make their own budgets—detailing the minutia of accounting, from computer budgeting software, to how and when to balance expenditures. *Watoto* is about the banality of everyday life as much as the Divine.

Mirroring *One Love*, your responsibility to the church, *i.e.*, *born-again* identity, surpasses all other responsibilities. Listing your financial obligations enables parishioners to create realistic budgets, with tithing as the first and most necessary expense, followed by taxes, savings and investments, and all other financial obligations. Marilyn affirms tithes as the foremost expense, “Our tithes are taken off before anything else, before our rent, before the school fees, before our food...our tithes come off” (Watoto Participant Observation, March 2012). Pastor Gary reiterates, “If you are not tithing you do not have financial integrity...if you get through this one thing it will set you up in the other areas” because if you give to God, God will bring wealth and prosperity because integrity generates God’s trust and blessings (*ibid*).

A tenth of one’s income is the expected tithe—because you lack financial integrity when you ‘rob from God’—and additional donations to the church are encouraged as offerings. Both tithing and offerings are expected because Abraham—a model of financial integrity and sacrifice—provided the greatest offering—his son Isaac—and tithed (Watoto Participant Observation, March 2012). Beyond tithing Pastor Gary and Marilyn extol the virtues of paying your bills, being punctual, and avoiding corruption. “The abuse of entrusted power for personal gain kills nations, kills families and kills individuals” (*ibid*). *Watoto* merges the practical and spiritual. “We don’t rob from God, we don’t rob from the government and we don’t rob from anyone else...we cannot be blessed and we cannot build a great nation” (*ibid*).

Individual and familial ‘financial integrity’ expands to national ‘financial integrity’ and the dangers of debt. “We will never get out of national debt, until we don’t get out of personal debt...governments around the world are...going into greater

debt...the wicked borrows and does not pay back” (Watoto Participant Observation, March 2012). The fluidity of jumping between the micro and macro is demonstrated throughout all *Watoto* sermons. *Watoto* groups sermons into evolving themes—‘the blessed life’ quickly moves to ‘the blessed nation’ (Watoto Participant Observation, July 2012). Throughout the ‘Financial Responsibility’ sermon, Pastor Gary effortlessly jumps between the individual and national scale, reaffirming the importance of biblical morality on a personal, familial, and national level. For Skinner, Uganda’s national motto must be applied to our everyday lives. “Let’s live our lives in such a way that whatever we do we can say, I’m doing this for God and I’m doing this for my country. If we really lived according to that motto we would change Uganda” (NTV Uganda, 2012).

The model—sin at an individual, familial, and national level—is applicable to all of the sermons at *Watoto*, and proves the church’s overriding message: individual moral transformation will beget Divine favour, which will transform the nation. In the same series, the sermon on ‘Sexual Integrity’ underlines the necessity of putting God into the everyday to generate broader change. At *Watoto*, “We will never change our nation until we put God back in the rightful place not just in our lives but in our nation...sexual integrity will help our nation...if you are looking to transform this nation...you want to transform the life of Ugandan families... to compromise in our sexual integrity...this nation will not be built” (Watoto Participant Observation, February 2012).

This model is again applied in the ‘Familial Love’ sermon by Pastor Andrew. To transform the nation we:

Must return to God’s original plan for family...without going back to the original plan our homes and our nation is destroyed...when God created man he created family, when God created family his idea was to build strong and healthy societies and nations...the way we raise our kids will determine whether [God] will give [us] blessings...God wants our families to build a strong Uganda (Watoto Participant Observation, February 2012).



The framework is a universal of *Watoto* sermons, whether it is overcoming HIV/AIDS, the national jubilee, or breaking the spirit of Mammon. National progress is always contingent on individual moral change. The following sections explore these themes. Beginning with the onus on individual transformation and what ‘moral’ means for both the individual and Ugandan families. Next, the discussion turns to *Watoto*’s vision of rebuilding Uganda politically and economically, through the Divine blessing that is achieved by individuals living with ‘Godly’ principles. The last section considers change in action—how moral transformation takes place within the community beyond the religious sphere and into the political, an occurrence that contributed to the AHB and entrenched ‘morally’ based public health campaigns in the fight against HIV/AIDS. Using the NGO *The Family Life Network*, started by *Watoto* elder Stephen Langa, as a case study, demonstrates how *Watoto*’s principles are applied outside of the church.

### ***Transforming the Ugandan Citizenry***

To achieve national transformation *Watoto* aims to rehabilitate the people of Uganda, imbuing them with ‘moral integrity’ by incorporating the Holy Spirit into their lives. According to *Watoto* our role as good Christians is “to fulfil the kingdom plans He has a plan for you” as “none of life is secular” (Watoto Participant Observation, October 2011). Sermons at *Watoto* are extremely practical bringing Christ into finance, health, and sexuality.

Discourse aims to ‘teach’ congregants *how* to live as responsible citizens, paying bills and taxes punctually, abstaining from premarital sex and extramarital affairs, raising a family, even instructing the congregation on how to go on job interviews, in an effort to rebuild the covenant with God and win Divine favour, a blessing that is “given to us for kingdom purposes, not for individual purposes” (Watoto Participant Observation, January 2012). While nation building is the overarching theme, the path towards progress is in the everyday and lies with the individual.<sup>61</sup>

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<sup>61</sup> *Watoto*’s emphasis on teaching its congregation how to be disciplined citizens reflects a Foucauldian frame of technologies of the self [see Chapter I & VIII].

Like *One Love* and *Miracle*, discourse incorporates sexual purity and HIV/AIDS. Yet, while *Miracle* focuses on Divine healing and HIV awareness, *Watoto* structures discourse around prevention and purity, similar to *One Love*. Contracting HIV, sexual promiscuity, and homosexuality are signs of a rupture with the faithful's covenant with God. *Watoto's* continuum of sin is presented without rank. Corruption and debt are positioned next to disease and sexual immorality. Yet, the latter themes are discussed with greater frequency. Indeed, entire sermons are devoted to negotiating sexual temptation and HIV. Corruption, tribalism, child abuse, and other perceived threats to the nation are incorporated into sermons discussing finance, family values and/or nation building. For the purpose of further discussion how *Watoto* aims to transform the nation by teaching its congregation to conform to strict moral parameters will address two pivotal elements: sexual purity and disease. In order to understand the Anti-Homosexuality Legislation and the public campaigns concerning HIV prevention, it is necessary to understand the interplay between legislation, public policy, and church discourse in Uganda.

#### *Achieving Sexual Integrity*

In the 'Sexual Integrity' sermon Pastor Gary explains that God is the creator of man and the author of sexuality (Watoto Participant Observation, February 2012). God's vision for human sexuality is for sex to cement the bond between a husband and wife and for procreation. Sex is to be enjoyed as a Holy Gift only within those confines, and to engage in premarital, extramarital sex, and/or homosexual acts is a lack of sexual integrity (*ibid*).

Sex, like the family, is designed to preserve and strengthen society. According to Pastor Gary:

God designs sex for preservation, preservation of life and society. Marital sex is healthy sex. The moment you get outside of marriage it opens it up for disease that will destroy life. We don't even need to talk about that inside Uganda, everyone knows about it, Uganda has been a living example of that, but not only that, a marital relationship that is pure...produces an incredible security for society...a child watches mom and watches dad love each other and they learn how to live in relationships and it brings a security to society. When you take

it out families break up. Sexual unfaithfulness produces guilt, produces suspicion, mistrust, insecurity...The sexual union in marriage was designed...for the health of society. You take it out not only does it not preserve life, it destroys society...Why should we have sexual integrity? Number one you will have a healthy life. You know I have never had a fear of getting a disease or AIDS...If we don't have order in our homes we don't have order in our nation (Watoto Participant Observation, February 2012).

Here the fear of AIDS becomes a basis on which to build a morality. Failing to live with sexual integrity opens individuals up to the contracting of disease, undermines the strength of the family, and weakens the strength of the nation. God will further condemn Uganda for living outside of His bounds, as He 'smote Israel' in the Old Testament (1 Chronicles 21:7).

There is a tendency to interpret scripture literally within Ugandan PCCs—without context. Scripture is a living document. The Bible details God's punishments for disobedience, and parallels are drawn within Ugandan society. Uganda's history of political, economic, and social turmoil is proof of Divine punishment. At *Watoto*, "Any nation who turns away from God wait for God's stick" (Watoto Participant Observation, February 2012).

A lack of sexual integrity destroys individuals. It undermines the strength of families and the nation as a whole. God designed sex to occur within the confines of marriage, and any sexual articulation outside of those bounds is a perversion of His design, including homosexuality. Pastor Gary explains that homosexuality is no more a lack of sexual integrity than pre-and-extramarital sex. "You must never have sex with anybody except the person you make [the marriage] covenant with...that is why homosexual love will never be marriage...there are no children. It is abnormal, it's perverted sexuality" (Watoto Participant Observation, February 2012).

Homosexuality is listed as the third sin of sexuality, along with fornication and adultery (Watoto Participant Observation, February 2012). Pastor Gary draws on Leviticus and Romans to explain God's denunciation of

homosexuality, “God says that he detests homosexual sex” (*ibid*). Recognising the timeliness of the subject Skinner, claims that “this is such a massive subject and so important right now that I am going to do a whole message in a couple of months...I want to talk straight about homosexuality because it is such a hot issue”, acknowledging the AHB (*ibid*). Pastor Gary’s statement is particularly useful as *Watoto* has been less vocal about the Legislation than *One Love*. Yet, *Watoto* elder Stephen Langa is often linked to the Legislation through the *Family Life Network*.<sup>62</sup>

Pastor Gary’s pending message about homosexuality—while unconfirmed by *Watoto*—may refer to the homosexual youth reformation programme mentioned by several Ugandan LGBTI bloggers (GayUganda, 2010; YoungVibrantUgandan, 2013). The project entitled Quest works with *Watoto* to reform and “reintegrate homosexuals into society...instead of employing disapproval tactics, *Watoto* church leaders have come out in love, to the aid of those entangled in the undesirable act” (GayUganda, 2010). The frame of rehabilitation and healing mirrors *One Love* and *Miracle Centre*.

While *Watoto* seems clear on the church’s position on homosexuality, a sermon given by Pastor Andrew seems to contradict Pastor Gary’s words. Pastor Andrew urges Ugandans to return to God’s original intent for families. He explains, “the family begins with marriage” and at the covenant between man and wife, not with the creation of children. For Pastor Andrew children are merely “gifts to us” (Watoto Participant Observation, November 2011). Regardless both sermons make clear that the marriage covenant is between a man and a woman, therefore homosexuality falls outside the bounds of sexual integrity. According to Pastor Gary, “fornication, adultery, and homosexuality, it is all the same thing, it is all disgusting to God’s plan” (Watoto Participant Observation, April 2012).

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<sup>62</sup> The Family Life Network will be explored in the next section.

To maintain sexual integrity *Watoto* offers a four-step system: get real, get serious, get connected, and get a passion (Watoto Participant Observation, February 2012). Sexual integrity is made practical and attainable at *Watoto Church*. Getting ‘real’ is acknowledging that temptation surrounds us. Getting ‘serious’ pertains to dealing with lust and distancing yourself from triggers like pornography. The third step suggests believers find an accountability partner of the same sex to confess to and pray with. The final step recommends people find hobbies to keep away from temptation.

A failure of sexual integrity on an individual and national scale renders the population vulnerable to disease. The proceeding sub-section further explores *Watoto’s* view of HIV/AIDS in an effort to understand how church discourse informs broader societal strategies concerning HIV prevention and public health campaigns.

#### *Negotiating HIV/AIDS*

A major component of sexual integrity is freedom from disease. In a sermon entitled ‘Getting to Zero’ *Watoto* traces the history of the HIV/AIDS epidemic in Uganda, crediting the ABC campaign for reducing the transmission of the virus.<sup>63</sup> *Watoto* reassured members of the audience who are HIV-positive that “today is not about making you feel like you are nothing...it doesn’t matter that status of your blood...you are valuable before God...with Christ there is always hope” (Watoto Participant Observation, December 2011). While this message of reassurance mirrors *Miracle’s* stance of hope and healing, *Watoto* is more proactive in their approach by detailing *how* the nation can reach zero, “the people who can achieve this goal is the Church of Jesus Christ” (*ibid*).

The sermon evaluated various methods of intervention and effectiveness. Statistics were heavily utilised. The number of people living with HIV at various times of the epidemic illustrated a reduction in national levels since

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<sup>63</sup> At *Watoto* the ‘C’ in ABC stands for Christ.

the late 1980s and early 1990s. In many ways the sermon implied that Uganda has been successful in taking control of the HIV epidemic. For example, “I thank God that our President and First Lady were advocates for a strategy that worked...[but] just because something is in the spotlight today doesn’t mean it has the right answers...some of the strategies...are the ones beginning to cause the HIV prevalence rate to go up” (Watoto Participant Observation, December 2011).

At *Watoto* the decline in HIV is singularly attributed to the ABC campaign, redefined as abstinence, being faithful, and Christ. Strategies that are “in the spotlight” refer to condoms and circumcision. The sermon continues with “we need to return to the true ABC strategy...not the one that has been corrupted [with condoms]...the original” (Watoto Participant Observation, December 2011). In *Watoto*’s collective memory the C always stood for Christ, and condoms replaced the Christ. While Christ actually replaced condoms [see Chapter II] this narrative speaks to the way *Watoto* reinscribes the past. For *Watoto* their memory of HIV intervention speaks against totalised narratives of cultural memory (Nora, 1992), while revealing the progressive strategy of nation building. In order to constitute the future the PC past must be validated. The malleable past is used in the present, “to provide the thread of continuity between past, present and future” (Wood, 1994:129).

Paralleling *One Love*’s frame of sex and preventative tools—like condoms and circumcision—sex is a beautiful and holy act when consecrated by God. As we have seen [see Chapter II and V], condoms—rather than sex itself—are imbued with connotations of immorality and sexual promiscuity. For *Watoto* “there is no way a condom can protect you if you have violated God’s principles” and the utilisation of such is seen as “license to promiscuity” (Watoto Participant Observation, December 2011). The only way to overcome HIV is through Christ.

The God of *Watoto* is the God of the Old Testament, a vengeful God who smites those who defy his principles. Adhering to Biblical principles is paramount to protecting yourself and the nation. The sermon continually compares rates of HIV in the African sub-continent to the rest of the world to illustrate the uneven distribution. Embedded in this discourse is the suggestion of the pervasiveness of African immorality as the responsible factor in HIV transmission [see Chapters II and III].

Yet, the sermon also draws on Uganda as a positive model of HIV intervention. The history of Ugandan intervention is complex [see Chapter II], but the initiatives academically credited (Epstein, 2007; Parkhurst 2012; Parkhurst & Lush, 2004; Slutkin *et al.*, 2006) with reducing infection are not ABC approaches, but more the adaptable interventions that precipitated ABC. The push towards abstinence and monogamy approaches actually coincides in time with a rise in rates of infection (Epstein, 2007).

Unlike *One Love*—who dispute statistics that demonstrate an increase in HIV—*Watoto* acknowledges that the rise in “the infection that is beginning to happen [now] is among the marrieds” (Watoto Participant Observation, December 2011). However, as demonstrated above, *Watoto* attributes the rise to condoms and an absence of moral integrity, by implying that public health initiatives have strayed from the ‘true’ ABC approach, replacing Christ with Condoms. The path to zero is through a strict adherence to abstinence and monogamy. The way to navigate sexual integrity is through the strategies previously outlined: getting real, getting serious, getting connected, and getting passion.

Now that an understanding of how *Watoto* aims to transform the individual has been addressed, the discussion expands on why encouraging individual behavioural change is so significant.

### ***Transforming the Nation***

Before further discussion explores *Watoto's* strategy for national transformation, an understanding of their vision of national transformation is addressed. Beginning with Meyer's (1998) seminal research, a wealth of academics (Engelke, 2010; Freeman, 2012; Marshall-Fratani, 1998; McCauley, 2013; van Dijk, 1998) have explored how the process of Pentecostal conversion generates rupture or a break with the past and renders its adherents reborn subjects of God.

As future oriented as *Watoto* discourse is, as with *One Love*, the strive towards the future has necessitated the (re)remembrance of the past, evoking nostalgia for a moral history of a nation that never existed, while simultaneously denouncing Ugandan history as a dark, chaotic, violent, and Godless time. More than an outright break with the past, Ugandan Pentecostalism functions by rebirth and remembering, establishing a future—for the individual and for the nation—that must remember, as a warning of what can happen should converts lose their way. Secondly, when engaging with the history of Christian colonialism, the past is inscribed with positive associations.

During the 'Blessed is the Nation' sermon remembering is integral to forging a new future:

There is no other way [Uganda] can become prosperous unless it crowns the Lord as his God...We live in a pluralistic society where everybody's rights are observed. We are supposed to respect the beliefs and the faith of other people...Is it my great grandfather who is buried with his animalistic mindset...We live in a democratic country but we must understand who the Lord is...We need to go back to history...Those who forget are doomed to repeat it...when we turn away from God, God will allow us to go through turmoil. When you turn away from God the Bible tells us you will have many coups and many leaders. Does it ring a bell?...It is time for a fresh start...In the past fifty years we have seen an increase in sin, in oppression, in poverty, in idolatry...Why? The foundation of Uganda was rooted in idolatry. On the 8 of October 1962...witch doctors were connected to political leaders, half the church was partying with political leaders...they were sacrificing. The following day we received independence. Does chaos surprise you? We've dedicated our nation to demon spirits...Don't live in the past, live in the future...As long



as we crown Him the King of this land there is no limit to what God can do...peace, prosperity and joy...the blessed nation (Watoto Participant Observation, October 2011).

A transformed Uganda is a peaceful, happy, and above all, prosperous Uganda. Yet, in the fiftieth-anniversary sermon, Ugandan history is presented in a more positive light. Pastor Franco began by explaining to parishioners that God drew the boundaries of Uganda and created the nation. The sermon continued by comparing the health of the national economy at the time of independence to the 'Asian Tigers', seemingly implying that as a nation Uganda was 'better off' during the period of colonialism. Pastor Franco explains that while Christianity was late coming to East Africa, "in twenty-five years Uganda had become one of the most successful missionary locations...[because] Christianity brings the real transformation...we have a rich history...we need to celebrate our infrastructure development, our [rise in] life-expectancy, the discovery of oil...we must maximise the next fifty years...we must return to God, we must return to the God of the Bible" (Watoto Participant Observation, October 2011).

While the sermon recognises the need to move forward, it celebrates the progress of the nation during the past fifty years in contrast to the chaos the previous sermon describes. As the sermon closed, the plea to return to God further underscores nostalgia for the past. While the former sermon speaks to the 'animalism' and 'witch doctors' of previous generations, the latter calls for a return to God, suggesting a time Ugandans have drifted away from, a history that fully embraced God. The 'Family Love' sermon presented by Pastor Andrew too plays on nostalgia, presenting an image of the family unit as adrift. The internet, television, long working hours away from home, all threaten the family (Watoto Participant Observation, May 2013). While 'traditional' practices like polygamy are quickly acknowledged and condemned for their role in devaluing the family unit, the sermon employs a conception of an idealised family lost to modernity.

While *Watoto* 'remembers' the past it is primarily in an effort to forge a better future. In repentance for past and present sin, *Watoto* developed the *Uganda Declaration*, a

pledge meant for the congregation to sign—similar to abstinence pledges at *One Love*—dedicating themselves and the nation to God. Done in conjunction with the fiftieth anniversary of independence, the declaration opens by asking for repentance for collective sin. “We recognize that 50 years ago as Uganda was being born, we did not stand in the gap and dedicate our nation to the Lord. We did not seek the Lord’s face and His blessing over our nation” (Uganda Declaration, 2012). The declaration highlights Uganda’s history as living in a ‘kingdom of darkness’. The document continues:

Instead, we the people and our leaders, made covenants with the kingdom of darkness, we trusted witchcraft, incantations and sorcery. We handed our nation to wickedness and we have paid a dear price for those agreements. In the first 50 years of our existence as a nation, Uganda has experienced every form of evil and calamity. We have suffered civil war, bloodshed, turmoil and insecurity. We have been plagued with epidemics and diseases. We have endured the reproach of poverty, shame and degradation. Over the years the name of Uganda has been associated with disease, war and poverty. O Lord we recognize the cause of all our calamity as a nation is that we did not put our trust in you from the very founding of our nation (Uganda Declaration, 2012).

Detailing the failures of the past, the Declaration acknowledges that through it all God never turned His back on Uganda, and “saved us from the garbage heap of history” before dedicating the nation to a covenant with God, and new beginnings (Uganda Declaration, 2012). The Uganda Declaration renounces a litany of moral failures—in no apparent graded order— from the aforementioned sins of the past, to sexual immorality, homosexuality, drunkenness, nepotism, a lack of patriotism, disrespect for public property, confusion, murder, tribalism and the spirit of political intrigue among many others. Asking that the church be used as a vehicle of transformation, *Watoto* dedicates “every family in this country into Your Hands Father...we dedicate our Media to You...Education to You...[the] Arts, Culture and Entertainment...the forces of supply and demand...our leaders...our judges, legislature and executive work...our nation” so He may bless Uganda to “usher in unprecedented prosperity, such as the world has never seen...our economy is founded on the corner stone of Jesus Christ, we will never be shaken. The value of

our currency is pegged to the Name of the Most High God, we are forever strengthened” (*ibid*). Believers are asked to sign and date the document.

The timing of the pledge reflects *Watoto*’s perception of the potential of the fiftieth anniversary. The significance of the event is based on the Biblical story of Israel’s own fiftieth jubilee. According to Pastor Julius, “God gave instructions to the children of Israel on how to celebrate jubilee...it is God’s idea...consecrate the fiftieth year and proclaim liberty throughout the land...it is a time to be set free” (Watoto Participant Observation, February 2012). For *Watoto* upon Israel’s jubilee documented in scripture God cancelled all debt, washing away the past to start again. Pastor Julius continues, “When Jesus came he opened up jubilee for all of us to benefit from...we’ve been made a part of the partakers...to proclaim the year of the Lord’s favour” (*ibid*). The year of jubilee holds unlimited possibility for Uganda, to start anew and move towards a prosperous future, mirroring the land of Israel in order to maximise the next fifty years.

During the jubilee, prayer guides were available entitled “50 Days of Prayer for the Next 50 Years of Uganda” that outlined prayers for the districts, tribes, coming years, sectors of society, education and human resources, entertainment, sports and the arts, the economy, business and enterprise, media and communication, family culture and social services, and lastly leadership, governance and politics all in an attempt to manifest God’s kingdom in all spheres of Ugandan society (Watoto Prayer Guide, 2012).

Upon independence *Watoto* claims the leaders of the nation gave Uganda over to idolatry. At the national prayer breakfast with First Lady Janet Museveni, she presented a Ugandan flag to prominent church leaders. According to Pastor Franco, “Last year Mama Janet handed over the flag of Uganda to the church leader that was symbolic. Now is a time for us to take it up and restore God” (Watoto Participant Observation, June 2012). Being born-again at *Watoto* requires active participation in the community, a call for action to transform the nation. In this way many Ugandans associated with *Watoto* have applied the message of ‘kingdom mindedness’ to all

spheres of society. Consequently, the next section explores one example of *Watoto*'s call to action and kingdom mindedness, Stephen Langa.

### ***Beyond Watoto: Message in Action***

Previous discussion has highlighted *Watoto*'s drive to transform the nation through the Ugandan citizenry, implementing 'moral integrity' to induce God's favour. This section explores the agency and action shaping the nation as a result of that drive.

In a *Watoto* sermon concerning 'building God's house', Pastor Julius impressed upon the congregation the importance of understanding the purpose of God's favour for kingdom purposes. Pastor Julius explained that members must be "a channel for blessing...[and to] bring kingdom influence into every sphere of society, to infiltrate every sphere of society for his divine purposes. Wherever you are you must bring kingdom influence" (Watoto Participant Observation, January 2012). The sermon continued to draw on the story of Daniel, describing how Daniel used his leadership position to enact God's will. Pastor Julius explained Divine favour, "God puts his favour to deliver nations and communities. We see civil wars, poor infrastructure. God is not happy...he does something, he puts his favour to deliver the nation, nations are under attack...we need God with us, this will deliver our nation" (*ibid*).

Members of *Watoto* have a responsibility to deliver the nation by bringing 'kingdom influence' to all spheres of society. This role is particularly evident in the morally informed public health campaigns and the AHB. 'Kingdom-mindedness' is central in *Watoto* discourse. To build God's house on Earth necessitates bringing 'kingdom-mindedness' into all societal spheres. According to *Watoto* "the kingdom of God is in you...in power...to be representatives of God on Earth...You are a citizen of the kingdom of God...to advance his kingdom" on Earth through action (Watoto Participant Observation, January 2012).

While *Watoto* has not played as visible a role as other PCCs, particularly *One Love*, in regard to the AHB. *Watoto*'s drive to illustrate kingdom mindedness in all spheres

of life is evident in the work of the *Watoto* congregation. Unlike *One Love*, discussions of homosexuality are less frequent. *Watoto's* view on homosexuality “adheres to the biblical standard of sexuality...[and] is in favour of pro-family legislation that reflects and preserves this biblical standard...Watoto Church remains committed to providing help to anyone grappling with the moral and sexual issues of life” (Watoto, 2012).

An influential Ugandan demonstrating his ‘kingdom influence’ is Stephen Langa. Langa has gained international attention for his role in the AHB. In 2012 Langa was named in a lawsuit brought against Scott Lively in the Massachusetts federal court by the Ugandan LGBTI group SMUG. The suit includes Martin Ssempe, David Bahati, and the former minister of ethics James Buturo for conspiring with religious groups and politicians to “whip up anti-gay hysteria” (Goodstein, 2012). In a statement, SMUG’s attorney, Pamela C. Spees, claims the suit “brings the fight” back to Americans like Lively who fomented the legislation with their Ugandan counterparts (Spees quoted in Goodstein, 2012).

In 2002 *Watoto* elder Langa formed the *Family Life Network* (FLN), an NGO with the goal of restoring the “family values and morals of the Ugandan society...within the public and private sector, health, media, politics...policy and governance” (FLN Brochure, 2012). FLN’s drive to ‘restore family values and morals’ reflects discourse emanating from *Watoto*, and displays a similar nostalgic plea for a past ‘morality’, washed away with increased globalisation and the influx of the distorted ‘modern’ values. FLN claims:

Uganda is going through unprecedented levels of moral decadence, broken and dysfunctional family relationships. Cases of defilement, incest and sexual abuse have skyrocketed in the past five years, and worse still, the HIV pandemic which had declined to a stable level of 6.5% infection rate has begun to rise again! More men and women of marriageable age are opting to remain single, indicating a lack of faith in marriage. Homosexuality/Lesbianism and drug abuse are spreading like wildfire in schools, while pornography is invading the society at alarming rate [*sic*]! (FLN brochure, 2012).

In this respect FLN employs a construction of homosexuality that mirrors *One Love*, emphasising the frame of ‘learned’ behaviour by claiming that divergent sexuality is taught at schools to recruit an upcoming generation.

The same year the AHB was put before the Ugandan Parliament, Langa helped organise a conference in Kampala with members of the American ‘ex-gay’ movement [see Chapter III]. Multiple sources (Gettleman, 2010; Sharlet, 2010) view the conference as the Legislation’s impetus. According to Ugandan LGBTI activist Victor Mukasa, at the event “Stephen Langa said that homosexuality is a big problem and the existing laws that criminalise gay people...are not good enough. He kept referring to the recent victory in the case of Victor Mukasa and Yvonne Oyo vs. Attorney General as one that gay activists are going to keep using to promote their agenda” in Uganda (IGLHRC, 2011).

The case is the 2008 ruling against the Attorney General for an illegal raid of Mukasa’s home (IGLHRC, 2011). An element of the AHB has to do with the perceived legal headway the LGBTI movement was gaining prior to its proposal [see Chapter III]. The AHB is a means of re-establishing a ‘moral’ judiciary. As a follow-up to the March conference, Langa held an event to discuss the “‘gay agenda—that whole hidden and dark agenda’—and the threat homosexuals posed to Bible-based values and the traditional African family” (Gettleman, 2010).

The event brought together an array of the Ugandan public—politicians, educators, and police—and explored how to rehabilitate homosexuals, the threat homosexuals pose to the youth, and the goal of the LGBTI movement—“to defeat the marriage-based society and replace it with a culture of sexual promiscuity” (Gettleman, 2010). The same month the event was held, Langa took part in a press conference at the Grand Imperial Hotel where eight ‘reformed homosexuals’ warned the Ugandan public about the dangers of homosexuality. George Oundo, one of the ‘reformed homosexuals’, claimed that “we have been involved in recruiting homosexuals, spreading the gospel of homosexuality, and we know the operations of homosexuals” (New Vision, 25/3/2009). During the press conference Langa urged the government

to enact stricter laws against homosexuality and “to establish a probe to assess the [its] prevalence...in Uganda” (*ibid*). Langa distributed an FLNs petition to concerned parents to return to President Museveni and the Ugandan Parliament demanding that, “urgent steps be taken against homosexuality” (*ibid*).

While hesitant to discuss their role in the Legislation (FLN Interview, May 2012), FLN acknowledges its contribution to the AHB. Among the achievements listed on the FLN brochure include successful political lobbying “to influence legislation and school curriculum in favour of the family and morality” (FLN brochure, 2012). The brochure explains that through FLN school outreach programmes they have educated over 338,774 Ugandans on family values and morality (*ibid*).

The FLN has played an active role in community education. As FLN views children at the greatest risk a number of their initiatives are structured around youth outreach programmes. Youth initiatives at FLN include value-based sex education—Anti-Homosexuality Youth Groups—counselling and retreats, as well as courses on courtship and abstinence (FLN brochure, 2012). According to FLN, they have conducted programmes in “just over 698 secondary schools and 109 primary schools...out of the student population reached, about 210,000 made commitments to abstinence...183 secondary and primary school teachers have been trained...[and] 560 head teachers” (*ibid*).

In addition to the FLN, Langa is affiliated with the Uganda Youth Forum (UYF), a youth outreach initiative founded by Janet Museveni (DNA, 2013). The UYF—which includes Pastor Ssempe as a board member—offers training in life skills and youth counselling and employs a ‘purity’ approach to disease prevention and sexuality.

Before the 2009 ‘anti-gay’ conference with American speakers Scott Lively, Caleb Lee Brundidge, and Don Schmierer, Langa helped organise conferences for Disciple Nations Alliance (DNA) in Uganda. DNA is an international organisation based out of the United States, whose vision aims “to see the global Church rise to her full

potential as God’s instrument for the healing, blessing and transformation of the nations” (DNA, 2013). DNA is partnered with Samaritan Strategy Africa (SSA), whose “goal is [to] spread the core messages of the Disciple Nations Alliance to every nation on the continent” (*ibid*).

SSA is a network of African evangelical churches and organizations—where Langa serves as national coordinator. Within SSA is the Transforming Nations Alliance (TNA). TNA—where Langa also serves as director. SSA is partnered with *Watoto Church* and the FLN and sponsors vision conferences aimed at “Reviving the Reformation...[in Uganda] the Reformation lifted the nations of northern Europe out of poverty...we look at the principles that brought such national transformation” (TNA, 2014). TNA aims to forge a “disciplined and transformed [nation] to embrace Biblical principles... Transforming Nations Alliance will engage and disciple all sectors in Uganda to restore God’s original plan for creation...to transform the Seven Pillars of Society (Church, Family, Education, Business, Media and Arts, Politics and Legislature)” (*ibid*).

*Watoto* is an affiliate of both Disciple Nations and TNA. In 2000 the first DNA Vision Conference was held in Uganda organised by Americans Bob Moffitt and Scott Allen, with numerous leaders of *Watoto* in attendance (DNA, 2013). The following year the second DNA conference was organised by Langa. The very language used throughout *Watoto* sermons and within the Uganda Declaration reflects the language favoured by DNA. The Uganda Declaration dedicates the nation to the seven pillars of society, “the mountain of the Church, the mountain of Family, the mountain of Education, the mountain of Media, the mountain of Arts and Entertainment, the mountain of Economy, and the mountain of Government”—a slight variation of DNA/TNA’s pillars (Uganda Declaration, 2012).

The language of DNA and TNA is ubiquitous in *Watoto* and FLN discourse. During the ‘Uganda at Fifty’ sermon, Pastor Franco referred to the “seven spheres of influence” that need to be returned to “Godly principles” (Watoto Participant Observation, August 2012). DNA claims at the time of the 2000 conference, *Watoto*



was merely a fraction of its present size, at 6,000 members. Following the event “a vision for [a] Biblical worldview and wholistic [*sic*] ministry...participants [were] introduced to an application exercise called ‘seed projects’—small wholistic [*sic*] ministry efforts that demonstrate God’s love in the community” (DNA, 2013). These ‘seed projects’ are evident in *Watoto* cells, where according to Pastor Gary “cell members find a problem, take ownership of the problem, engage in the community, and love their community. Whatever the community’s problems are, those are the problems for which we do seed projects” (*ibid*).

The 2001 DNA conference challenged cell groups at *Watoto* to take on HIV/AIDS in the community. In the following years *Watoto* began more HIV outreach including the launch of the *Living Hope* programme. Yet, DNA has firmly distanced itself from the AHB, stating that “we do not believe that engaging in consensual homosexual acts in the privacy of one’s own home, or failure to report such acts, should be criminalized” (DNA, 2013).

In 2012 Langa delivered a sermon at *Watoto* where he emphasised knowing the purpose of God’s plan for marriage and sexuality because “where purpose is not known abuse is inevitable” (Watoto Podcast, 2012). In many respects FLN’s position on sexuality, purity and the West mirrors *One Love*. Stressing abstinence and reform with “sexuality it is more behaviour change...instead of preaching for children it is not possible to have sex until the right time, that is the difference between you and an animal” (FLN interview, May 2012). FLN—like *Watoto*—seeks to “see the family restored in our country so we can become stable...the West has a lot of influence on us...however, there are certain things that have come in that are not positive...[homosexuality] if our country legalises it, it will be on the streets...The best our country is doing is to create awareness of the effects of homosexuality” (*ibid*).

In many respects both *Watoto* and Langa rely on discourse emanating from the West, the evangelical West. The vision of DNA has been appropriated by both *Watoto* and FLN, and regardless of DNA’s disapproval of the Bill, their image of religious

conquest over the seven spheres of society is the platform of *Watoto Church* and the FLN respectively, which in turn helped to forge the AHB and support ‘moral’ intervention concerning HIV/AIDS. While not stated outright, *Watoto* aims for a ‘new Reformation’—nailing the Uganda Declaration to the church door—through the applied agency and actions of its members.

### ***Watoto within the Context of this Study***

While all of the churches under consideration exhibit great diversity—in theological belief, ritual expression and materiality—they are united in their broader ambitions of transforming Ugandans and transforming the nation. *Watoto* serves as an archetype of the politicisation of PCCs in Kampala. In contrast to other churches under consideration, *Watoto* is extremely institutionalised and emphasises the practical over more spiritual or intangible examples by teaching churchgoers *how* to live a kingdom-minded life. Exhibiting a tertiary approach to change—on an individual, familial and national level—the people of Uganda are reborn and gain divine favour, which results in national progress. At *Watoto* change comes in the everyday. Instilling ‘integrity’ into congregants creates a responsible Ugandan citizenry, a citizenry who display their ‘kingdom-mindedness’ through their routine choices and practices.

This chapter demonstrates the moral revolution that is encouraged by *Watoto* through church discourse that permeates the public sphere and is in the action of its members. The organisation and structure of *Watoto* is essential to its larger discursive influence on Uganda. Cells permeate on a small scale, communicating to individuals within the community, while the broader structural formation of *Watoto* plants numerous branches beyond the city, penetrating the wider Ugandan citizenry.

Discourse paints Ugandans as both active and passive, but all in need of divine intervention. *Watoto* adopts a near colonial language of mastery and subordination. When individual transformation takes place believers are encouraged to demonstrate their kingdom influence within all spheres of society. On a micro-scale believers

display morally upright behaviour and earn divine favour, which results in national progress and stability. *Watoto*'s influence is seen in the action of its members, and symptoms of immorality—like disease and homosexuality—are impediments to national progress.

While approaches differ the spirit of national transformation is visible within all churches under consideration, and the underlying necessity to establish moral integrity is consistent. While *Miracle Centre* promotes an ethos of glamour, globalism, healing, and economic prosperity, *One Love* adopts a stance of sexual purity, national autonomy, and the rejection of Western moral degradation. *Watoto*'s vision is through patriarchal and pragmatic transformation, as the congregation exhibits integrity and responsibility in their everyday actions from paying bills promptly to the broader impetus to actively bring 'kingdom-mindedness' to all spheres of society. Yet, the remaining example to be considered in the next chapter—*Covenant Nations Church (CNC)*—synthesizes several of the aforementioned characteristics.

Politically intertwined, the founder of the church is first-daughter Patience Rwabwogo, and *CNC* is frequented by First Lady Janet Museveni. The congregation is a small but influential group of financially affluent and politically significant Ugandans. Advocating for the sexual purity of *One Love*, Rwabwogo incorporates the Divine healing and otherworldly brand of Pentecostalism espoused by *Miracle Centre* along with the practical elements of responsibility and community mindedness demonstrated at *Watoto*. *Miracle* is aspirational, *Watoto* is international, and *One Love* represents the local. *Covenant Nations* negotiates both the local and global contexts, existing in between. While distinctly local, its political ties and globally connected orientation manifests in church produced discourse, while *CNC* strives to "lift up our nation before the Lord" (*CNC Participant Observation*, December 2011).

## CHAPTER VII

### FOR GOD AND OUR COUNTRY: THE COVENANT NATION

#### Nationalism, revival and prophecy in the political

*“The church is no longer contained, you go onto the nations, into the institutions...Uganda is sending a light onto the nations. There is a spirit of revival in this place.”*

*Patience Rwabwogo (CNC Participant Observation, December 2011)*

Of all the churches under consideration *Covenant Nations Church (CNC)* is the newest and boasts a very small—and very influential—congregation. While *Miracle* represents the global, *One Love* embodies the local, and *Watoto* has strong allegiances with North American evangelicals, *CNC* synthesises all three frames. *CNC* was founded by Patience Rwabwogo, the daughter of President Museveni. Her mother, First Lady Janet Museveni, the outspoken born-again and Minister of Karamoja Affairs, is also a member. The politically aligned congregation includes several members of the expatriate community, prominent Ugandan entrepreneurs, and politicians.

*CNC* incorporates elements of the other churches under consideration—offering the healing and prophesising of *Miracle Centre*, the sexual purity and political alignment of *One Love*, and the economic reform of *Watoto*. *CNC* integrates the messages of the other churches, but incorporates an even stronger emphasis on the political. Like all of the churches, *CNC* hopes to establish a new transformative generation to revitalise the nation. At times the church’s near despondent discursive frame mirrors Janet Museveni’s belief that:

God will not bless a nation...[that] has attracted God’s curse because of our behaviour...It is up to the young to break this curse so that they can release the blessings that God intended for Uganda. Your fortunes are tied together and are tied to the fortunes of the nation...they bite the hand that feed them and they appease their consciences by

blaming whichever government is there...the devil of stoking fires to destroy our nation (New Vision, 10/8/2010).<sup>64</sup>

While the other churches adopt a dual model—change on an individual level to initiate national progress—*CNC* obscures the individual and speaks in broader collective terms.<sup>65</sup> Yet, transformation is not altogether transformative, and in many respects maintains the *status quo*. *CNC* reflects what Gifford describes as PC Christianity’s ability to “dissuade adherents from evaluating the present economic order, merely persuading them to try to be amongst those who benefit from it...[it] eliminates any interest in systemic or institutional injustice” (Gifford, 1991:65).

The push for ‘relative’ transformation reflects the strong political affiliations of the church’s congregation. *CNC* aims to strengthen the nation, yet not disrupt the dominant power of the NRM. In the process the onus on moral transformation works to obscure inequality and the retracting democratisation of the Museveni regime.

For *CNC*, Ugandan society is in a state of moral decline or degradation.<sup>66</sup> Moral decline is exemplified by sexual impurity, a perceived state that stands as a deterrent to national progress. *CNC* discourages Ugandans from examining deep-seated systemic contributions to poverty and general inequity. Homosexuality and sexual impurity—along with a broad and ambiguous state of immorality—are framed as the true restraints to national progress and stability. At *CNC* “we want answers to our prayers, we have needs, but we need God to fix our problems” (CNC Participant Observation, December 2011).

Broader social issues like poverty are merely symptomatic of the presence of sin and absence of God. Unlike *Watoto* a pragmatic roadmap for eliminating sin is not

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<sup>64</sup> The frame of discourse at *CNC*, along with Pastor Rwabwogo’s style of preaching, evokes a near sense of bereavement. While the other churches are highly energetic, Rwabwogo conveys loss, as if she has internalised the nation’s hardships. One participant described this as Rwabwogo carrying “the weight of the nation upon her shoulders” (CNC Interview, July 2012).

<sup>65</sup> *Watoto* actually employs a tertiary model—individual, family, and nation.

<sup>66</sup> Moral degradation refers to the perception that the Ugandan public have turned their backs on God. Sexual impurity, poverty, and other ‘sins’ go against the good ways of the Biblical and romanticised immediate past.

clearly defined. Rededicating the nation to God eliminates ‘sin’, the ‘devil’s tool’ for weakening national prosperity. If you eliminate sin the nation will progress.

This chapter locates *CNC* in the broader examination of Ugandan Pentecostal-Charismatic discourse by considering the church’s influence on processes of political governance and negotiations of citizenship. While *CNC* illustrates recurring themes of the other churches under consideration, it exemplifies PC ideology in action. The church members are extremely influential in business and political circles, and bring their vision of transformation to these ‘secular’ realms. *CNC* provides an example of ‘applied’ action, paradoxically a type of transformation reliant on the intangible—“miracles...healing...revival...heaven to invade earth” (CNC Participant Observation, February 2012).

In practice, discourses of nationalism and transformation generate understandings that position homosexuality and disease outside of the parameters of national progress and Ugandan identity. The prophetic emphasis at *CNC* assures the congregation that Uganda is destined for greatness. Yet, major deterrents to national progress and economic prosperity are attributed to the state of moral degradation that characterises Ugandan society. Legislators, politicians, and political figures—associated with *CNC*—strive to ‘protect’ the nation and the up-and-coming generation, or the “generation of deliverance...who will grow up to do great things”, from moral threats to the national future (CNC Participant Observation, December 2011).

This chapter illustrates the way PC discourse engages with the political, and how the movement informs and is appropriated in the political sphere. The purpose of this chapter is to situate PC discourse in political dialogue, beyond individual spiritual belief and transformation illustrated by the other case studies. While spiritual belief is essential, the chapter clarifies how spiritual belief translates into practical civic action and encounters with the political. *CNC* highlights the appropriation of PC discourse by the state and its influence on politics and public policy.

This chapter is divided into six main sections. Discussion begins with an overview of Sunday service. This is followed with a brief summary of the Museveni family to illustrate how the family's life abroad informs the church's global orientation and the prevailing theme of exile at *CNC*. Next the chapter considers *CNC*'s structure and prominent congregation. Afterwards church motivations and themes are further developed. Prominent themes in Sunday service are located, followed by an examination of prominent members 'in action', applying Biblical principles beyond the church to all spheres of Ugandan society.

### ***Sunday Service in Buziga***

Founded in 2006 by Patience Rwabwogo, the small church operates out of a family home in Buziga, an affluent suburb of Kampala. Of all the head pastors under consideration, Rwabwogo is the youngest and the only woman. Diminutive and soft-spoken her sermons are unanimated in comparison with the other case studies.

Since *CNC* boasts one of the most influential congregations in all of Kampala, with direct ties to the political party in power, the NRM, and President Museveni, the Sunday services feature tight security. White with a terracotta roof, the house is nestled just outside of Kampala in the affluent suburb of Buziga. The small home is along a winding suburban drive far off the main road, not far from Murchison Bay. Large sports utility vehicles and expensive sedans are parked along the unpaved residential street, their freshly washed exteriors dusted red with the road's clay soil. Military police line the red road outside of the church compound, and strict security checks are in place. Attendees make their way past metal detectors and armed guards, and through the large black gates.

Across a small paved drive bordered with plush green grass, the small congregation gathers under a breezy marquee outfitted with a parquet floor. The white tent shades members from the hot mid-day sun. Under the tent's cover, well-dressed ushers accompany parishioners to neatly arranged plastic chairs, and an empty wooden throne is positioned just ahead of the front row. On average the understated, yet well-

dressed congregation is decidedly older than other churches under consideration. The congregation is comprised mostly of families. Single parishioners are less frequent. This speaks to the social standing of *CNC* members. Their lives are established, in contrast to the younger audiences of the other churches, and are less aspirational. At *CNC* the congregation has ‘arrived’. The understated dress and austerity of the church reflect the church and its members. While wealth is ever-present it is underplayed.

*CNC* lacks the highly produced performances and technology of *Watoto* and *Miracle Centre*, but members of the congregation often bring their own Ipads to Sunday services. Using them as digital Bibles, they follow references to scripture as the sermon unfolds. Pastor Rwabwogo and junior pastors also use Ipads, quickly moving through scriptural passages. At the head of the long marquee, positioned just off centre before the rows of chairs, is a simple wooden podium used by the speaking pastor.

Behind the podium sits a small raised stage used by the choir. Dressed in matching costumes, their outfits change each week depending on the sermon’s theme. During the sermon on Ugandan Flag Day, the choir wore vibrant yellows, reds and blacks, the national colours of Uganda. To the left of the stage—set behind an alcove for the band—is a small screen to project Bible verses and church announcements.

The older women in the congregation often wear traditional dress made of East African textiles, like the Gomesi. On one Sunday an elegantly dressed woman—in her late fifties or sixties—wore an elaborate Gomesi made of a fabric printed with NRM imagery and photos of Janet Museveni. The small congregation is not only comprised of Ugandans, citizens from the East African community are frequent, as well as North Americans, Europeans, and people from South and South-East Asia.

The small congregation sits in wait for the service to begin. One of the only cars allowed in the compound pulls through the gates, a large black sports utility vehicle. Security swarms around and the driver makes his way to the rear door. The car door



opens and the First Lady emerges. She makes her way to the wooden throne reserved for her—escorted by military police and an assistant—and the service begins.

The sermon opens with music from the choir and guest speakers share their personal testimonies. Afterwards the diminutive Pastor Rwabwogo takes to the podium and begins the weekly Sunday sermon. While the other churches under consideration have numerous services in English and Luganda, *CNC* typically offers one 11:00 am service in English that lasts into the afternoon. Everyone who worships at *CNC* speaks English, and parishioners accommodate the church's schedule. Rwabwogo's style of preaching is in stark contrast to the animated services of other churches. *Miracle Centre's* services are highly energized, visual, and emotive affairs. *One Love* is incredibly interactive, as the persuasive Pastor Ssempe performs before his audience, and *Watoto* offers highly produced and entertaining services, complete with short films.

*CNC's* services are far more understated. Pastor Rwabwogo does not 'preach' to the congregation as much as she 'talks' to them. Bearing the weight of the nation upon her shoulders, Rwabwogo's appeals for transformation are emotional. At times she seems moved to tears, yet calm, evoking a physical manifestation of pain for all of the troubles her nation has endured. Yet, for parishioners *CNC's* appeal offers more than spiritual guidance and provides a pragmatic opportunity for networking. At times the church's influential political and business ties brings the 'authenticity' of some of the congregation into question by fellow attendees. According to a member, "Some people they come here because they believe, they really believe...but others come to network...but it is okay because they will hear the word of God" (CNC Interview, June 2012).

For the interviewee his statement is validated when Rwabwogo is absent from Sunday service, and the size of the congregation is considerably smaller. He explained, "They don't come when she is away" (CNC Interview, June 2012). The member continued to explain that during one Sunday service Rwabwogo anointed parishioners for the Lord. She "poured oil...she called others to help anoint [so three

people, including Rwabwogo were anointing parishioners] in the first line [Rwabwogo's line] was very long and no one would go to the other lines, they only wanted her to anoint them" (*ibid*). While he suspects gravitating to Rwabwogo reveals parishioners' networking motives, all of the churches under consideration experience diminished attendance when the head pastor is absent. Further the head pastor's authority could be perceived as a more direct connection to the Divine. Therefore desiring Rwabwogo's anointing may have as much to do with the perception that it holds more spiritual authority.

Nonetheless the majority of the attendees are high-ranking politicians and business owners. Some younger members do attend in the hopes of forming connections with the well-to-do majority. "I come because I hope to meet people in the political world", says one member. He continued, "I'd like to be a political leader and so I started coming to this church...to meet the political leaders" (CNC Interview, December 2011). This leads some attendees to suspect that not everyone in the congregation is as equally committed.

While Rwabwogo "is serious with her belief, [some] people going are there to impress her, not God. They are not serious...you may think you have gone to a political meeting...this shows spiritual immaturity" on behalf of some parishioners (CNC Interview, December 2011). However, according to a member those parishioners are apparent, "Yes some come just for connections, but you can tell...they do not come to every service...they are not the majority of our congregation...it is just a few people...here and there" and while they attend for their own reasons they "still hear the word of God...it penetrates" (CNC Interview, July 2012). The attendance of many members of the Museveni family further strengthens this view.

### ***The Family of the Covenant***

Pastor Patience Rwabwogo is the third child of Yoweri and Janet Museveni, born in May 1978 during the Amin regime while Janet lived in exile in Nairobi (Museveni, 2011:96). The majority of her childhood was spent away from Uganda during a turbulent and transitional time in the nation's history. Her formative years of perceived instability and insecurity inform the ideological stance at *CNC*.

The idea of a volatile life of exile is within church discourse and emerges in the descriptions of Ugandan society. At *CNC*, "we are exiled in a foreign land...speak tenderly to Kampala that her sins have been paid for, the grass withers but stands forever. You who bring good tidings to Kampala, He tends to his flock like a shepherd. Why should we feel lost" if we have God (CNC Participant Observation, May 2012).

Sentimentalised accounts of a pre-conflict Uganda also surface in the way *CNC* calls for a return to family values and tradition. While the exact time of pre-conflict is ambiguous for *CNC*, "God wants to restore Uganda to what was before...bring us back to fruitfulness and productivity...to the abundance of before" (CNC Participant Observation, June 2012). The local-global orientation of the church is apparent in Rwabwogo's early life, growing up abroad and studying in the United States.

### ***Formative Years: Life in Exile***

In Janet Museveni's biography, *My Life's Journey*, she recounts her daughter's birth, "We named our daughter 'Patience' because we knew we would have to be patient to see our country liberated in order to return home" (Museveni, 2011:96). Rwabwogo was born during an unsettled time for the Museveni family. A day after her birth "Yoweri left for Mozambique...He could sense that Amin's regime was floundering and wanted to be prepared to launch an offensive" (*ibid*). By October Idi Amin's troops invaded Tanzania, assuring the downfall of his regime. Much of Rwabwogo's childhood was spent away from her father. While Museveni remained in Uganda, Janet stayed with the children in Kenya and later Sweden.

By 1980 Museveni was the head of the Uganda Patriotic Movement (UPM) and ran for president in the general election. Obote won in a contested election. Museveni rejected the results and formed the National Resistance Army. With political unrest at home Janet and the children settled in Sweden. At this time the family was “living without options...like the children of Israel...exiled from our land” (CNC Participant Observation, December 2011). For Janet, Sweden brought much wanted security, and one night:

I said to myself: ‘There must be a God in heaven!’ I wrote a letter to my husband and told him I had made a decision to give my life to the Lord and accept Him into my heart. I desperately needed the Lord to come into my life and make sense of what seemed like a senseless and unpredictable existence (Museveni, 2011:123).

The Museveni children adapted to their new home and quickly learned the language. The time spent in exile informs a frame of church discourse. Rwabwogo draws upon her own childhood experiences while imploring believers to be “fruitful in the land of your exile” (CNC Participant Observation, December 2011).

In 1986 Yoweri Museveni became the President of Uganda and the family returned home, a place where the children had spent very little time. According to Janet:

They had seen pictures of Africa and thought...that all of Africa is one big safari park...and people living in huts. I tried to explain to them that Uganda had houses and streets...but that many things had been destroyed because of the war. They would continue to ask me why people would destroy their country...Now we were coming home, to a country that was finally free, with the difficult task of rebuilding the broken pieces before us (Museveni, 2011:155).

By Janet’s account, returning to Uganda was a culture shock for her and the children, but Christ alleviated the sense of uncertainty (Museveni, 2011:155). When Rwabwogo finished school she moved to the United States to attend the University of Michigan. This was a trying period for Janet. Worried the co-ed dorms would ‘corrupt’ her daughter she found solace in scripture. The book of Judges, Chapter 11, recounts the story of Jephthah. While away in battle Jephthah worried his daughter

would not remain a virgin. Yet, because he made a covenant with the Lord, the Lord protected her. “She returned unto her father...and she knew no man” (KJV, Judges 11:39).

Like Jephthah’s daughter, Patience supposedly returned from “the ‘wilderness’...whole and undefiled...through this experience, the Lord taught me to surrender my children to Him completely” (Museveni, 2011:231). This discursive frame is not relegated just to Museveni’s autobiography but is a constant theme at CNC. Surrender, sacrifice, and sexual purity are ever-present. Rwabwogo asks her congregation to surrender to the Lord, “make an offering of yourself...a sacrifice...cleanse us and keep us pure to transform the land” (CNC Participant Observation, February 2012). Rwabwogo’s church represents the nation, and the familial model is the Museveni family. Congregants are expected to make the same sacrifices to God that the Musevenis seemingly made, to “surrender...completely” and what will return will remain “whole” and better (Museveni, 2011:231). Ugandans must become a “living sacrifice...to save a nation” (CNC Participant Observation, May 2012).

The autobiography frames the lives of the Museveni children as unpredictable and turbulent, and parallels the historical frame of Uganda itself. The account merges the experience of the Museveni family with the nation itself. The Museveni family is inseparable from Uganda. By Janet’s account her family is the archetype of transformation, sacrificing their lives for the nation. Ugandans are encouraged to sacrifice to transform themselves and render the land prosperous once again. CNC cannot be divorced from Janet Museveni. She is its most prominent member, and CNC encourages a nationalist agenda that fuses God with economic and political transformation, mirrored at the church. In this frame the heightened insecurity of the nation highlights the importance of two stabilising factors, Christ and the NRM.

#### *The First-Family & the Holy Spirit*

In her formative years the *balokole* movement was very influential to Janet Museveni. Yet, her faith sometimes waned [see Chapter II]. *Balokole* is a significant

source of inspiration at *CNC* [see Chapter II]. Aside from Biblical times the *balokole* revival is the most direct historical moment drawn upon in church discourse. At *CNC*, for “the East African Revival [*balokole*] none had come before to base it upon. We are the generation that can be a second generation...[and] we can have a much greater revival than the one before...the second East African Revival” (*CNC Participant Observation*, May 2012).

In 1986 when Janet returned to Uganda she reaffirmed her faith in Christ. According to Janet, “it was like I had to start from scratch...after the war, there were many Christian evangelists who travelled to Uganda...on their arrival, some of them would call on Yoweri and I and pray for us and healing of the nation” (Museveni, 2011:169-70). With God, Janet “had no more fear of the future...the truth was that I did not have the Lord in my life, being the wife of the President alone would only further complicate my life and exacerbate my insecurities. My foundation was the Lord and it was Him that I was building my house” (Museveni, 2011:176-77).

Janet was thus able to embrace the future through the Lord. After her spiritual reawakening Janet claims “the Lord started a process of consecrating my life and the life of my family...creat[ing] an environment within my home of such peace that it made it easier for my children to come to know the Lord for themselves” (Museveni, 2011:175). According to Janet, her children adopted her faith, especially Patience (Museveni, 2011:176).

Throughout Janet’s autobiography she suggests that God brought great stability into their lives, stability that “did not come from the outside in” (Museveni, 2011:176). Yet, looking at the nation’s turbulent history, Janet felt Uganda was overlooked by Divine favour, and asked the Lord, “What happened to the Africans? Aren’t we your people, too?” (Museveni, 2011:181). Janet’s interpretation of scripture reconciled her nation’s hardships. The violence and turmoil were symptomatic of turning away from God. Janet knew that “all the work He does on earth, He must do through someone...[people] willing to surrender their lives to His vision and His call...Now in Africa, we have lots of problems, but very few people answering the call of

God...God requires that we, as Africans, stand up to begin to answer” (Museveni, 2011:182-3).

Janet’s life was built upon God, the foundation. Seeing the Ugandan people overlooked by the Divine stood in contrast with the blessings or consecration bestowed upon the Museveni family. The Museveni family serves as the model, and the nation must be built upon the same foundation to prosper. At *CNC*, “let us no longer be the laughing stock of the world...reinstate Uganda to its true position...Americans have spoken it, Uganda has a right to prosper...say I’m proud to be a Ugandan...we are Ugandan first, we love Jesus not because we are the first family” but Ugandan (*CNC Participant Observation*, April 2012).

The history of the Museveni family reflects the ideological undertones in *CNC* discourse. Uncertainty and instability are fundamental to the way the nation is framed, while Janet Museveni’s own spiritual conversion helped to inform Rwabwogo’s relationship with God. For *CNC*, the way forward for Uganda is through Christ, a vehicle of the Lord to allow Ugandans to be ‘His people too’.

Yet, before the ideological frame is elaborated the overall church structure is considered. While *CNC* is a ‘family affair’, with several members of the first family, it embraces a strong business and political orientation, informing the particular way forward for the nation.

### ***Leading the Covenant: Church Members & Structure***

Besides Janet and Patience *CNC* includes other members of the first family, including Rwabwogo’s husband, her sister, and her brother in-law. Odrek Rwabwogo, Patience’s husband, helps oversee church activities and frequently speaks before the pulpit. Outside of *CNC* Odrek is the proprietor of The TERP Group:

One of the first indigenous public relations firms in Uganda...[which aims] to help the public sector communicate professionally, become responsive to the needs of the citizenry and make a positive social and economic impact. Our roots are truly African and our understanding of the power of words and images as channels to spur development in Africa inspires us everyday (TERP Group, 2014).

The emphasis on the local and indigenous is telling. It mirrors the positive appropriation of ‘African roots’ by Ugandan PC Christianity in relation to sexuality. TERP is regularly awarded public relations contracts by the government, notably a 1 million USD contract for the ‘Gifted by Nature’ tourism campaign on the American broadcasting network CNN and the Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting (CHOGM) publicity contract in conjunction with the global advertising company Saatchi & Saatchi (Independent, 25/3/2009).<sup>67</sup> The contract garnered significant public backlash. MPs investigating the misuse of CHOGM funds claimed “the tendering process for the contract was unfair—with 16 other firms being ‘unfairly thrown out’ in favour of Rwabwogo’s company...also question[ing] why the original publicity bill” was inflated by nearly 1 billion Ugandan shillings (Daily Monitor, 4/2/2010).

Diana Kamuntu, Patience’s younger sister, acts as the church worship leader and head of the choir, which Joseph Okia of King Solomon Investments—a procurement and product sourcing company which is regularly awarded government contracts—as the choral guitarist. Okia is first cousin to the Museveni children and is regularly linked to the AHB. Kamuntu’s husband, Geoffrey, is an usher during Sunday service (New Vision, 8/9/2006). Geoffrey also has close ties to the NRM. His procurement firm consults for oil exploration in the Albertine Valley in northwest Uganda (The Independent, 25/3/2009). The Ugandan magazine *The Independent* reported that Kamuntu has stakes in the Heritage Oil Company as well (*ibid*).<sup>68</sup>

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<sup>67</sup> Accusations of mismanagement overshadowed the event. Prime Minister Amama Mbabazi was accused of “influence peddling, conflict of interest, causing financial and flouting procurement laws” in the way contracts were awarded and funds were managed (New Vision, 6/10/2011).

<sup>68</sup> Heritage Oil lost a recent lawsuit against Tullow Oil and is expected to pay out over 300 million USD. Tullow purchased Heritage’s assets in Uganda, and the latter refused to pay the full capital gains tax to the Ugandan Government. As a result the Ugandan government refused to allow Tullow from drilling on the land and sold stakes to a French and Chinese company (Gosden, 2013).



However, Janet Museveni remains the most prominent member of the congregation. Before *CNC* the First Lady attended *Miracle Centre*. The church's strong political orientation frequently brings members of the NRM to weekend services. Among others, David Bahati (New Vision, 1/9/2006)—the author of the AHB—and commissioner general of the Uganda Revenue Authority Allen Kagina have been a part of Sunday worship (Observer, 4/11/2009).

In 2008 at the behest of Janet Museveni, Kagina attended the International Transformation Network (ITN) 'Transform Our World Conference' in Argentina, along with the Museveni's first cousin Joseph Okia (Transform Our World, 2014). The ITN was developed for "a worldwide strategic alliance of marketplace and pulpit ministers from all walks of life...focused on developing transformational, God-honoring solutions to the systemic social, economic and governmental ills facing the world" and is a part of American based ministry Harvest Evangelism (Transform Our World, 2014).

After returning from a 2012 conference Okia made a video for Transform Africa, a regional branch of the ITN, stating:

I had a wonderful time...the biggest thing that came out of it is that God has called us to transform nations. The nation God has placed me in is the nation of Uganda, Uganda is right in the middle in the heart of Africa. I believe Uganda will be the first transformed nation...a light bearer for other nations around the world...God wants to transform every sphere of influence, take the sphere of business...nations need to be disciplined...businesses, cities, education, government, every sphere of influence needs to be transformed (Transform Africa, 2012).

Uganda serves as the model of transformation for Africa, mirroring the Museveni model of transformation at *CNC*. Believers bring their spiritual lives into "every sphere of influence" to change nations beyond a spiritual level, with the ultimate goal being economic and political transformation (Transform Africa, 2012). This is achieved through a collective citizenry [see Chapter I], defined not by rights but by belonging (Anderson, 1991) and obligation.

In many ways Okia's model mirrors Foucault's (1977) use of Bentham's Panopticon. The 'panoptic' nature of power embeds particular subjectivities through all sectors of society, in order to reproduce and reinforce existing forms of hegemonic power, and a disciplined citizenry. The 'panoptic' model establishes systems of control by normalising and regulating ideologies to render citizens in line with existing economic and political models and, in the Uganda, the church. Surveillance, or the idea of a perpetual *gaze* (*ibid*), reflects the way PC ideology integrates into the subjectivity of the believer through the church and the social networks the church provides. Yet, here the 'panoptic' model is inverted, and PC ideology influences the state. Discourse is essential in this view, disseminated into various societal 'arms'. Dominant ideological constructions are reinforced through repetition and embed constructs into naturalised perspectives or subjectivities.

Uganda is the intended model of transformation, but *CNC* offers the more immediate example of how religious belief is integrated into all spheres. Prominent members bring *Watoto's* 'kingdom mindedness' [see Chapter VI] into their business and political lives, like Rwabwogo's TERP Group and Okia's King Solomon Investments. Yet, the congregation is not limited to political business actors in Uganda, but includes members of the East African community. During a Sunday service the former first lady of Burundi, wife to Jean Baptise Bagaza, explained her spiritual conversion. Bagaza confessed that she once had all of the wealth and power imaginable, but she soon realised power is unsustainable without God. The former first lady continued to explain the hardships her family experienced after her husband lost power in a military coup d'état. For Bagaza regardless of what you have you are "living an illusion of a shadow without God...our prayer is not just about our nation, but other nations...be fruitful in the land of your exile...today we declare a break with the past, forget the sins of the fathers" (*CNC Participant Observation April 2012*).

Her words are demonstrative of the pervasive theme of exile in *CNC* discourse. At *CNC* exile takes many forms and can be personal, familial, national, or continent-wide. The state of exile is not only an actual state that believers encounter, illustrated

by the Museveni and Bagaza families, but a spiritual state of exile as well. *CNC* draws on examples of ‘spiritual exile’ in the nation, Polytheism, poverty, illness, tribalism, and witchcraft all serve as examples of ‘spiritual darkness’ far from our home in Christ (CNC Participant Observation, April 2012). Here the traditional past is rendered the Christian past, and time and tradition are inextricable from church discourse. Yet, exile is also applied at the national level. Drawing on the biblical example of Jerusalem, the Ugandan state serves as the contemporary example of Israel. At *CNC*, “we want answers to our prayers, we have needs, and we need God to fix our problems...the people of Israel were starting. It goes back to who is God in Uganda...we are the children of Israel...we must say to God I will give you everything” (CNC Participant Observation, May 2012).

### *The Covenant Structure*

Structurally *CNC* has the smallest administration and fewest initiatives of any of the churches under consideration. The congregation itself is quite small. Regular services draw under a hundred attendees. When Rwabwogo is absent from Sunday service, Sekaran Vellasamy—owner of the Kampala-based business Malaysia Furnishing—frequently leads the sermon.

Vellasamy immigrated to Uganda in 1986 from Malaysia to do missionary work. Yet, his spiritual beliefs do not stop after Sunday mass ends. He founded his business on born-again values (Observer, 17/11/2010), and Malaysian Furnishing staff are led in a compulsory morning prayer (*ibid*). In 2007 the *New Vision* reported that Vellasamy was embarking on a joint housing project with Patience’s husband, Odrek Rwabwogo (New Vision, 27/11/2007).

*CNC* has two main worship groups, the women’s group *Apples of Gold* which meets from eleven to one o’clock on Wednesday and *The Covenant Eagles* for men, which meets from six-thirty to eight-thirty on Tuesday. The difference in the scheduled meeting times between the men’s group and the women’s group reflects the normative gender roles ascribed to the followers at *CNC*. Men are expected to head the family so meeting times are scheduled for after work hours. In contrast, women

are expected to have more ‘flexible’ schedules so their meetings are scheduled during the day. The scheduled times also reflect the financial affluence of most *CNC* believers. At the other churches under consideration both men and women tend to work, but at *CNC* there is more financial flexibility.

A young Ugandan man named Paul leads the *Covenant Eagles*. At the opening of a Sunday service Paul encourages members to attend the Tuesday evening meetings. *The Eagles* will anoint you and “nothing can take it away from you, unless you give it up yourself” once you have been anointed (CNC Participant Observation, January 2012). A British expatriate heads *Apples of Gold*. During a Sunday service she brought another *Apples of Gold* member before the congregation to offer her testimony. The young woman stood before the congregation and explained the difficulty of finding a job that allowed her to attend both Wednesday meetings and Sunday church services. Around March 2012 “she received a call from the Sheraton Hotel” in Kampala (CNC Participant Observation, April 2012). The hotel manager called her to inform her that her schedule was changed and she now had Wednesday’s off (*ibid*). Yet, she was still unsatisfied. Her new schedule still kept her from attending Sunday services.

The young woman prayed at *Apples of Gold* meetings and received “a phone call from the front office desk saying that they want to employ her at the front desk” (CNC Participant Observation, April 2012). Her schedule now fit with the church schedule because of the intervention of the Holy Spirit. The young woman continues, “*Apples of Gold* taught me confidence. I went and found employment and had found it through *Apples of Gold*” (*ibid*). Before returning to their seats the leader of *Apples of Gold* elaborates on the group’s benefits. Miracles occur at *Apples of Gold*. “Members...who have had problems with conception...have reported to conceive...people meet, share and learn from each other. They learn how to pray, they learn how to cope...ladies of *Apples of Gold* healed another lady on medication” who has since discontinued the prescription (*ibid*). Groups like *Apples of Gold* are one element of a healthy spiritual life—a direct connection with God and behaving in line with Biblical principles—and are necessary to prevent members

from feeling isolated from the church community. According to *CNC*, “the devil’s tool is to isolate us, don’t feel alone *Apples of Gold* ladies” (*ibid*). One of the reasons *CNC* was established was to create a stronger community and to build a transformative church.

### ***Building the Covenant***

Upon the fifth anniversary of the church, Odrek Rwabwogo published an entry in his short blog about the *CNC*’s significance to the community. According to Odrek:

My idea of church was a traditional square building with men in cassocks, red, white and black filing into a Sunday service...I did not countenance us in this order or my wife being called ‘Pastor’. I was a businessman with a young family and I could not see how our home would become a service centre for people from all walks of life (Rwabwogo, 2011).

For Odrek *CNC* was formed at a turbulent time for his family. However, “these...are the moments that God uses as building blocks for a firm road back to Him” (Rwabwogo, 2011). For the Rwabwogo family difficulties strengthen your relationship to God and help individuals find what is important, difficulties that mirror the perils of Uganda. According to Odrek, “*CNC* brought such a strong and radical shift in our conventional thinking and practice of church. It brought us to a new level to identify the tricks of the enemy by building a deeper relationship of trust with God. We moved from the surface to the deep...It stabilized us from the terrible swings of the world. It gave us an anchor” (*ibid*).

Odrek continues to explain the multiple tools the enemy uses in the modern world. Weapons like our “knowledge of the world, science and your environment can sometimes be a weapon of the enemy to diminish our faith in the power of God...poverty is another weapon...poverty makes us...look to all who come bearing gifts” (Rwabwogo, 2011). Odrek’s warning reflects the same call for autonomy employed at *One Love*, for increased state autonomy away from donor funds and

dependency, but holds more significance as *CNC* is so deeply connected to the Museveni regime. Odrek warns:

To fight, you need good intelligence gathering capability for how can you for example face witchcraft without wisdom and how do you tell you are on the right path if you are carnal? How come groups that seek to influence our thinking about life, income, health, beauty, smartness and sexuality put a communication strategy in place, work with dedicated media channels and raise resources and make a plan and we don't recognize this and respond appropriately...The war against poverty for example is spiritual as it is physical. There is no way incomes of a nation can go up, even if we pour resources into people's hands, unless there is an internal resolve and purpose that is higher than our present circumstances...compromise never maintains lasting peace. Co-existence means you offer space to each other and it depends on who is committed to influence the other, one will at some point yield ground (Rwabwogo, 2011).

In many ways Odrek's words warn of the dangers of modernity, a world of immorality and the degraded influence of the West. Yet, it justifies maintaining the NRM and Museveni, along with increasing government intervention in a climate of contracting democracy. Mirroring a near colonial discourse, the warning aligns the Ugandan people—on the whole—as not ready to control their own destinies. The statement suggests that Ugandans lack the appropriate level of morality, and even if 'resources were poured into the people's hands' at their present state the citizenry is without the right spirituality or discipline to use them. For Cossman "citizenship is not simply a normative aspiration, but a technology of governance that constitutes a highly self-disciplined citizen" (Cossman, 2007:14).

For Odrek the media brings moral degradation, circulating hypersexualised behaviour and other elements that are viewed as immoral by the church. These 'bad behaviours' can penetrate Ugandan society and undermine the project of rebirth. For *CNC* the public sphere has become a site of moral degradation, LGBTI mobilisation and sexual promiscuity are signs of the absence of God. In many ways the perceived 'hypersexualisation' of the public sphere justifies the wave of restrictive legislation that has reduced democratic freedoms in Uganda, beyond the AHB.

Recent restrictive legislative initiatives include the Public Order Management Bill (POMB), passed in 2013 by the Ugandan Parliament. It requires police approval for gatherings of more than three people. The POMB bears extreme limitations for public gatherings for political opposition as well as the Ugandan LGBTI community, and any other group deemed outside of the political norm (BBC, 6/8/2013). The POMB demonstrates the intensified regulation of the public. This reflects a moral supervision of the citizenry to lift the “cloud covering...the whole nation...what is missing is someone to pierce it who can make it rain...who can make Uganda right again...bring back God...control our ways and rededicate the nation back to God” (CNC Participant Observation, March 2012).

*CNC* discourse, while calling to change the “*status quo*...change our paradigm”, functions to maintain the status quo, justifying increased authoritarian powers as divine intervention (CNC Participant Observation, May 2012). The call of transformation is the main theme at Sunday services, typified by discussions of healing, prophecy, nationalism, and the up-and-coming generation. The next section addresses some of *CNC*’s penetrating themes.

### ***Locating Sunday Themes***

*CNC* synthesises the themes of the other churches under consideration. However, the church engages with broader discourse on national change and focuses less on individual transformation. While individual transformation is pivotal to national progress the emphasis on macro transformation, exemplified in the relationship between the Ugandan state and global systems, reflects *CNCs* strong political affiliations. The discourse produced at *CNC* is less about Meyer’s (1998) rupture and more with realignment. Re-remembering the past and reframing tradition is central in *CNC* discourse. While the church advocates for moral change to better the state of the nation, it simultaneously displays a need to maintain the *status quo*, as the ‘powers that be’ are members of *CNC*.

For Marshall (2009) the political motivations of the PC movement in Nigeria work to mediate the global movement's early individual focus on spiritual holiness with the more material alignment on wealth and accumulation, advocated by the prosperity gospel. While Marshall links "the holiness interest in messianism and the prosperity concern with the miraculous...as aspects of a political theology, both messianism and the miraculous attest to a commitment to the value of disrupting the status quo" and orients the way individuals negotiate their daily lives (Robbins, 2011:144). Yet *CNC* calls for the public to transform into the *status quo*, which is rendered holy by its alignment with PC Christianity.

While weekly themes vary, certain constants emerge, including an overall emphasis on nationalism, prosperity, healing, and prophecy, and reflects the interplay between the church's dual local and global frame. Moral degradation stands in the way of national progress, in ways both real and ideological. The presence of illness and sexual impurity are manifestations of the absence of God, as well as a rejection of his favour. In order to gain Divine favour Ugandans must embrace His moral principles. In a practical sense Ugandans are encouraged to be more industrious and take advantage of the Divine blessings readily available, like natural resources, to exert their own agency and gain financial prosperity. At *CNC*, "we are rich...look at the land...the resources...may the resources be used for Uganda" (*CNC Participant Observation*, May 2012).

#### *Prophetic Nationalism & Prosperity*

Services provide reoccurring church themes. The most consistent theme at *CNC* is a sense of nationalism and pride in the Ugandan state. During a Sunday service on appreciating the Ugandan flag, the small congregation is encouraged to "buy a Ugandan flag...say 'I'm proud to be a Ugandan' if someone says you are poor...[but] the land is so rich, the Lord has blessed this nation, this land. Resources are plenty...we are Ugandan first. We love Jesus not because we are the first family" but because we are Ugandan (*CNC Participant Observation*, April 2012). At *CNC* members are encouraged to be proud of their African and Ugandan identity.



While Uganda is full of wealth, the abundant natural resources have not been utilised. Part of God's national plan is for Ugandans to maximise the untapped wealth, develop local business and expand industry to achieve greater prosperity. In this way Ugandans can overcome the pervasive 'spirit of poverty' that stands in the way of progress. As the sermon continues, parishioners are warned that the "Lord follows the plans of nations...pray for Africa...outside of the church we may not be the same people as inside, may we be slaves no more" (CNC Participant Observation, January 2012).

The idea of 'slaves' represents the perceived state of African peoples, located in a subaltern position to the West, as well as a lack of entrepreneurship to capitalise on natural resources. The supposed state of slavery is similar to the nationalist discourse at *One Love*, which positions African nations indentured to a hegemonic West. The use of 'slave' further articulates the notion of exile—captive and away from home.

The sermon continues with we are "not what foreigners think we are...thank you [God] for this nation, thank you for the purpose of this nation. We rank it with America...we are rich. Reinstate Uganda to its true position. Reinstate Africa, the time of slavery is over" (CNC Participant Observation, January 2012). At CNC comparisons to developed countries like the United States are frequent. Yet, in contrast to *One Love* America is a positive model for economic prosperity and represents the desired future for Uganda.

The call to 'reinstate' the continent, to 'reinstate' Uganda, mirrors *Watoto's* re-remembrance of the past. Not a complete 'break' with the past, but to return to an idealised past. Nostalgic calls to return to 'better times' are also contested. 'Traditional' also represents a more primal or blasphemous state of existence, as the sermon promises that "we are not going back to our foreign gods" (CNC Participant Observation, January 2012). The utilisation of the descriptor 'foreign' is particularly illustrative. Indigenous practice is rendered abnormal and positioned outside of the realm of 'authentic' Ugandan tradition. In this way, the ability to 're-remember' the past is further demonstrated. Christianity, rather than a foreign import is *the* local

tradition, and is synonymous with Ugandan identity. The ‘foreign’ gods of the past are what is external, while representative of collective sin. Yet, the sermon consoles its parishioners “that [Uganda’s] sins have been paid for, the grass withers but stands forever. You who brings good tidings to Kampala, he tends to his flock like a shepherd, why should we feel lost?” (*ibid*).

Reinstating Uganda is “its destiny...pray for the spirit of Uganda. The spirit of nationalism...Americans have spoken it, Uganda has a right to prosper, we refuse being slaves...bless our leaders ability to defeat those who oppose Uganda” (CNC Participant Observation, January 2012). While the West at *One Love* is typically positioned as a negative influence, at *CNC* the West—particularly America—is positive, reflecting both the church and first family’s strong affiliation with the United States.

At *CNC* the way to ‘defeat’ enemies of the nation is by bringing *Watoto*’s ‘kingdom influence’ to all spheres of society. Yet, the nation needs *moral* legislation and leaders who represent ‘kingdom minded’ ideology. The sermon concludes by calling followers to “refuse the Homosexuality Bill, delete it in the name of Jesus, delete it right now. Oppose it, we stand for you Lord” (CNC Participant Observation, January 2012). Initially references to the ‘Homosexuality Bill’ bring associations of the AHB.

However, the Legislation *CNC* refers to as the ‘Homosexuality Bill’ is actually the same Bill Pastor Ssempe [see Chapter V] cited as “cooked up...in the East African Parliament...drafted in New York and brought by UNAIDS and DFID...[in] a protracted effort to change locally developed methods against HIV” in the veiled language of ‘universal access’ to render homosexuality acceptable by Western agencies by hiding sexual rights in the Legislation (Ssempe Interview, May 2012). Legislation that could possibly strengthen LGBTI rights. *CNC* discourse is consistent with the other churches under consideration.

At *CNC* the Lord must govern all societal spheres, politics, education, business, and media. Asking the congregation “is anything too hard for the Lord as a nation?” the sermon calls to collectively overcome the troubles of the past to transform the nation (CNC Participant Observation, December 2011). *CNC* believers are taught to be proud to be Uganda, yet, certain identities are framed outside of the bounds of Ugandan identity, including the ill and the immoral, like homosexuals.

*Everyday Symptoms of the Divine: Miraculous Healing & the Supernatural*

While the majority of church discourse is aligned more with macro-themes of nationalism, the economy and prophetic declarations of the collective future, an emphasis on healing—similar to *Miracle Centre*—is apparent. At *CNC* “the kingdom of heaven is coming into the world. It is a declaration, it is possible, it is something that can be here and has been in the past, but we must keep it here...that is heaven on earth” (CNC Participant Observation, April 2012). The supernatural is very real and one of the most fundamental aspects of the supernatural is Divine healing.

God fills us with the Holy Spirit to give you:

Freedom, boldness, power and the authority of God...to preach the gospel in an uncompromising way. To perform the signs and wonders...in a normal Christian life in the early church they had boldness...now the enemy has gotten us to think that the normal life does not involve any sort of supernatural healing or miracles. Normal Christians we don't have the miraculous...[miracles] should not be a big deal for us. It should be normal, the atmosphere of heaven should be normal. When [the supernatural] is strange that means this life is without manifestation, that is abnormal (CNC Participant Observation, April 2012).

At *CNC* miracle healing and the supernatural are normal symptoms of Divine presence. The supernatural should not be irregular, the supernatural should be the everyday. The absence of the supernatural reflects a disturbance in man's relationship with God. In the early Christian church miracles were performed daily. To bring the miraculous merely requires a paradigm shift.

For *CNC* “the church is supposed to be a hospital...do you want dignity or deliverance...come with someone sick, we got to see people rise up and walk” (*CNC Participant Observation*, April 2012). During the service Rwabwogo brought a young man on crutches before the congregation. She explains that in 1985 there was a problem in the country with immunisations that left the young man disabled. Yet, God is the “same yesterday, today and forever...the same God with the same power. This day is the beginning of the rest of your life, cancel the plan of the enemy, the spirit of suicide, rebuke the demon, declare that you will live and not die. Walk in the name of Jesus...organs function, eyes see, ears open” (*ibid*). The congregation begins to pray for the young man and Rwabwogo places her hands upon him, attempting to heal him of a lifetime of debility.

The emphasis on healing is significant, the miraculous represents the presence of the Divine. The power of God is transformative, but incorporating a ‘new power’ paradigm is largely undistruptive and reinforces the ruling power of the NRM. The Anglican and Catholic churches have long established ties to political parties [see Chapter II] and indigenous groups (Ward, 2005:109), yet the contextual newness of PC Christianity transcends religious or ethnic affiliations and holds the potential for unity beyond existing party lines.

The call to perform ‘boldness’ and the supernatural is an effort to enable a revivalist movement across Uganda and beyond, for Uganda to serve as a spiritual light to other nations. For Ward, “while the Balokole were strongly against mixing religion and politics...they began to modify the earlier rigidity for a more nuanced engagement with secular social and political affairs” (Ward, 2005:113-114). Yet, the next revival *CNC* calls for requires a direct indistinguishable engagement with politics and the secular world, to enable a prophetic future.

### *The Prophetic Future*

The emphasis on the supernatural reflects the broader discourse aimed at national transformation. *CNC* frames transformation as a revivalist movement. The prophetic nature of the church foresees the pending revival, yet, encourages parishioners to

enable the revival themselves. As *CNC* is oriented towards future national transformation an emphasis on the children is central. In a Sunday service, Rwabwogo began the service by dedicating Ugandan children. For Rwabwogo, “This generation is a generation of deliverance, [but] this generation is under attack. So I believe it is a generation of deliverance. Of tomorrow, in our nation these...are the people who will grow up to do great things. Let’s pray that God will protect these children in the dangerous world” (CNC Participant Observation, June 2012).

The ‘dangerous world’ at *CNC* holds active threats, and evil is a very real, tangible force undermining national progress. The children of Uganda must “fulfil their destiny...nothing should come into their lives that is not of God” (CNC Participant Observation, June 2012). Sin is a barrier to the future generation, and actively works to undermine the ability of Uganda children to fulfil their destinies, and the national destiny. Homosexuality and disease are representative of that which is ‘not of God’ and the “door to the enemy” must be closed. Legislation and public policy helps to morally align the country, closing the door to sin.

For Marshall-Fratani (2001) PC Christianity represents a means of ‘becoming other’, transcending the past and the self and the limitations of the physical world, it is about discontinuity and enabling a ‘redemptive’ rupture to redeem the future. Pentecostalism allows believers to “inscribe [themselves] anew” in a world that is ever in flux (Corten & Marshall-Fratani, 2001:3). While *CNC* is about transcendence, their model of the future mirrors the lives of believers who are ‘living well’ in the present, members of *CNC*. Members of *CNC* have significant political influence that allows them to bring church discourse to ‘action’ within all realms of Ugandan society.

### ***Applying the Covenant: Biblical Principles in Action***

The discourse at *CNC* is generally aligned towards broader themes than the other churches under consideration, and rarely addresses HIV and sexuality directly. Sexual purity and morality are most visible in the actions of *CNC* members within the public sphere, beyond the church, appropriating the call of church discourse to fulfil the nation's destiny. *CNC* is the clearest example of charismatic discourse in action, due to the congregation's powerful social and political influence.

### ***City of the Covenant***

The aforementioned themes converge in Rwabwogo's community involvement. In 2007, Rwabwogo led the second Kampala Annual City of God campaign, marching throughout the capital city of Kampala. Donning tee shirts emblazoned with the words "God Bless Kampala", Christians streamed through the city, declaring Kampala to be "a city that glorifies God...through exalting the upright, a city is exalted" (New Vision, 8/12/2007).

During the march speakers from *CNC* asked citizens to appreciate the nation and change their attitudes towards leadership and the government (New Vision, 8/12/2007). While government leadership is important "all authority comes from God...God knows about our city. We declared it to him and we know he will give us wisdom to live and work according to his will" (*ibid*). Dedicating the city to God is significant, as "we...don't want to stop at praying, we also want to demonstrate change physically" (New Vision, 27/11/2007b).

Janet Museveni, who previously called for a virgin census in 2004, played an active role securing PEPFAR funds for HIV abstinence and monogamy initiatives [see Chapter II]. Yet, the moral frame does not stop with Rwabwogo and Janet Museveni. In 2012 during the nation's fiftieth anniversary celebrations, President Museveni dedicated the nation to God. Echoing the discourse at *CNC*, Museveni declared, "I denounce witchcraft and satanic practices. I repent on behalf of Uganda. We confess our sins. We repent of the sins of shedding innocent blood, corruption, bribery, sexual immorality...rebellion, insubordination, tribalism and sectarianism" (New

Vision, 9/10/2012b). Like *CNC* discourse Museveni calls for change, yet, maintains the status quo, aligning rebellion and insubordination as sins detrimental to national progress.

### *Janet Museveni*

Janet Museveni has played a pivotal role in politicising charismatic ideology [see Chapter II]. In 2001 she formed the Ugandan Youth Forum (UYF), an organisation charged with “reach[ing] out to the youth nationwide, empowering them to lead transformed and productive lives” (Uganda Youth Forum, 2013). An emphasis of the organisation is on HIV prevention through abstinence and monogamy, as well as educating the youth on the dangers of homosexuality.

In a 2010 speech before students at the National Youth Convention held at Makerere University, Museveni warned of the dangers of sexual promiscuity and homosexuality. Warning students “the nation has attracted God’s curse because of our behaviour. It is up to the young to break this curse so that they can release the blessing that God intended for Uganda” (New Vision, 10/8/2010). Janet Museveni continued, “homosexuality attracts a curse, but now people are engaging in it and saying they are created that way. It is for money...the devil is stoking the fires to destroy our nation and those taking advantage are doing so because our people are poor” (*ibid*).

Rumours circulate that Janet Museveni is in fact behind the AHB. A 2011 Wikileaks report claimed Jerry Lanier, former US Ambassador to Uganda, reported that Museveni “is ultimately behind the bill” (Daily Monitor, 11/9/2011). Yet, regardless if Janet Museveni is directly behind the Legislation or not, church discourse has informed the Legislation, and the actual author—David Bahati—is linked to *CNC*. While Bahati is not a regular at *CNC*, he has been spotted at the church throughout the years by the Ugandan press (Observer, 4/11/2009).

*David Bahati*

Of all the Ugandan public figures, MP David Bahati is deeply involved in bringing sexual purity and homosexuality to the national spotlight. In a 2013 interview aired on the Ugandan television network, *NTV*, Bahati explained that Uganda and the West:

Have different views about [homosexuality] but we have a responsibility to the people of Uganda to safeguard society. We are moving forward to ensure that society is safe, our children and future are protected and we cannot be intimidated by anybody, we cannot be diverted. We are focused on making sure this bill passes through parliament, so that the children of Uganda will be protected (NTV Uganda, 2013).

The remarks reinforce the way children are framed at *CNC*, the future of the nation, as well as a thread that runs throughout charismatic discourse in the public sphere—the threat of homosexuality on the future of the nation and public safety.

For Bahati—mirroring the construction of homosexuality at *One Love, Watoto* and *Miracle*, and by both President Museveni and Janet Museveni—homosexuality is a distinctly un-African practice [see Chapter III]. For Epprecht (2008), while Africans have long engaged and displayed a range of sexualities, African societies are constructed as singularly heteronormative. Constructions of heterosexuality borrow from colonial narratives that inscribed stereotypes that led to the erasure of ‘African’ homosexuality. According to Epprecht (2008) the increased visibility of LGBTI identities throughout Africa beginning in the 1990s, was met with backlash from African leaders who engaged with the past in an effort to delegitimise homosexual identity. This occurred during periods of IMF structural adjustment and other stipulations that undermined the authority of the African state.

Homosexuality and the Legislation serve as a partial manifestation of anxiety about state autonomy and self-determination. For Bahati the Legislation is a further means of removing NGOs, which work to promote sexual rights agendas, from the nation, “a clause in the bill prohibits organizations that support gay rights from working in



Uganda, potentially including the development arms of foreign governments...‘it becomes very easy...their licenses will be revoked’” (Kron, 2012:np).

### ***CNC within the Context of this Study***

*CNC* incorporates the healing and prophesising of *Miracle*, the sexual purity of *One Love*, and the economic pragmatism of *Watoto*, while demonstrating an even stronger emphasis on the political. This chapter demonstrated the church’s influence on processes of political governance and negotiations of citizenship. *CNC* exemplifies PC ideology in action. The influential church members bring their vision of transformation to the ‘secular’ realms of politics and business.

While *CNC* displays similar themes as the other churches under consideration, synthesising the other examples, the concern for transformation is undisruptive to the *status quo*. Rather *CNC* calls upon transformation and offers many of its affluent members as models of transformation for the nation to evoke. The frame of citizenship rests with the family. Citizenship at *CNC* is a collective model, the family represents the citizen, and the family is the vehicle of transformation. Therefore protecting the children from moral degradation, like homosexuality and disease, is imperative for transforming the nation. *CNC* calls to bring about a new revival movement, to evoke the power of God in the everyday. Yet, Divine power is undisruptive to the *status quo*, and PC Christianity serves as a unifying discourse to establish ideal responsible citizens, who can mirror the success and patriotism of *CNC*’s congregation.

## CHAPTER VIII

### THE TIME OF REBIRTH

#### **Memory, Discipline, and the National Project in Pentecostal-Charismatic Discourse**

*“I stand here to close the evil past...at the threshold of a new dispensation in the life of this nation...[Father] We ask for your forgiveness. We confess these sins, which have greatly hampered our national cohesion and delayed our political, social and economic transformation...We want to dedicate this nation to you so that you will be our God and guide.”*

*Yoweri Museveni (Museveni quoted in New Vision 18/10/2012)*

All of the churches under consideration demonstrate vast doctrinal differences, and offer a picture of the incongruities that typify the worldwide movement. Yet their frame of sexuality unites all of the case studies in this thesis. *Miracle, One Love, Watoto* and *CNC* all draw on ‘tradition’ and ‘the past’ to give contextual significance to their discursive frame of sexuality. In the process PC understandings of sexuality offer a critique of the Western world. All of the churches perceive the West to be in a state of ‘moral decay’. Expanding legislative rights to LGBTI communities symbolises how homosexuality is becoming ‘accepted’. The overwhelming economic, cultural, and political influence of the West, coupled with Ugandan dependence on foreign aid, are interpreted as a threat to ‘traditional’ PC culture and the goals of *public rebirth*, or the new public dispensation driving social transformation. The frame of ‘traditional’ sexuality advocated by churches reveals anxieties about authority and sovereignty in the postcolonial state, while paradoxically reifying colonial understandings of the body and African sexuality.

Sexuality unifies PCCs and provides the churches with discursive authority in the public sphere. Uganda’s social and political landscape is influenced by PC discourse on sexuality. Public health strategies and the proposal and passage of the AHB are symptomatic of PCC’s political authority. Yet, sexuality and public health are merely components, constituent parts of a broader social transformation conceptualised by the PC community. Churches aim to align the nation with the PC Divine, to gain

God's favour and establish national prosperity. For *Watoto*, "the process is beginning. We are disciplining nations not just individuals...we need a collective national ethos...enshrined into our political structures to bring about well-being for all people" (Watoto Participant Observation, June 2012).

Individual salvation enables national transformation. The realignment of the public sphere, or the *public rebirth*, is the first step to creating "a better future...we align sexuality to God's intended created order [and] everything falls into place... it begins with individual spiritual rebirth...for the collective national soul and culture" to create a Godly nation (Watoto Participant Observation, June 2012). This requires and further justifies regulating individual morality. PC discourse informs the judicial and political process, solidifying national transformation. In the process, PCCs have redefined the way the postcolonial state engages with sexuality.

This chapter addresses how the discursive project of *public rebirth* positions sexuality through a process of reinscribing the past in order to establish a moral citizenry to transform the future. The framework of time reveals tensions in the Ugandan state and the negotiation of citizenship, while the indistinct boundaries between the religious and secular are further blurred. PC discourse is a nationalist discourse that requires imagining a distinct moral citizenry. Church discourse invents "unity between a group of people who imagine themselves with a shared past and a shared future, but it is, in fact invented, exclusionary and hierarchical" (Puri, 2002:428).

PCCs achieve transformation by regulating the citizenry and conceptualising a national identity in line with PC Christianity. National identity is a fluid and dynamic category (Lee, 2005:100). Discourse engages with time and tradition to imagine a national collective future. Transforming Uganda requires a moral citizenry, a "citizen of heaven with citizenship in heaven you have rights...responsibilities... requirements...rewards...[but] you have no rights unless you are in the kingdom" of God (Watoto Participant Observation, June 2012). The focus on individual morality is in order to achieve social transformation.

A conception of time that engages with the past is essential for imaginings of an ideal future. PCCs draw upon two forms of the past—a Ugandan past and a Biblical past—to achieve three main goals. First calling on the local past helps legitimise the Pentecostal nationalist project. If the nation is an ‘imagined community’, the guiding force that sustains that imagination are collective memories forged from historical narratives (Anderson, 1991). PC identity is contextualised through reinscribed local practice and history.

For Marshall PCCs in Nigeria re-appropriate traditions of colonial missionary churches for a “collective, indeed national [born again] regeneration...[where] the future appears both as the possible overcoming of what has gone before and as the fulfilment of an original promise” (Marshall, 2009:65). For Uganda it is not only to ‘overcome’ what has transpired but also to recreate collective imaginings of the past. In the process churches position certain aspects of their worldview, like normative sexuality, as a form of ‘traditional’ African culture. The draw on the past and tradition creates a collective memory and renders “a social identity explicit, not so much in the way it is ‘given’ or held as stable, as in the ways it is differentiated from a former period or another society” (de Certeau, 1988:45).

Second when engaging with sexuality the use of the local past and tradition destabilises the local expression of non-normative sexual forms and renders them incompatible in the Ugandan context.<sup>69</sup> In PC discourse homosexuality is an ‘un-African’ foreign practice that undermines national progress. Rather than ‘traditional’ cultural forms challenging PC salvation (Meyer, 1998), characteristics of the external world pose the greatest threat. Sexuality has reframed the PC use of ‘tradition’ and ‘the past’—normally elements PCCs intend adherents to ‘break’ away from—which are recast as features to uphold.<sup>70</sup> Heterosexuality is implicit in national imaginings of the ‘good citizen’, which requires the creation of a binary opposition, the

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<sup>69</sup> Tradition and the past are conflated in PC discourse.

<sup>70</sup> While other elements of ‘tradition’ and the ‘past’ are rendered more virtuous through the moral frame of sexuality, other ‘good traditional’ elements are left ambiguous, undefined and fluid. ‘Good’ tradition is drawn upon, but it is never that clearly articulated. For Paula, “we have good traditions...we are tight with tradition” but ‘tradition’ is a vague and inconsistent category (MCC Participant Observation, March 2012). In the same way the past is contradictory, calls to reinstate “the good times in Uganda” are coupled with criticisms of the “difficulties of the past fifty years” (*ibid*).

homosexual ‘bad citizen’ (Alexander, 1994). The construction of an unspoiled past, free from externally originating sexual deviance, works to reinforce homosexuality as an abnormal and destructive identity in nationalist discourse (*ibid*).

Third the Biblical past offers a blueprint for the process of national transformation and establishes the parameters to define the citizenry. For Marshall, “unlike the theology of history presented through mission and the civilizing project [of colonialism]...the messianic and the miraculous encapsulate a sense of time and history fundamentally opposed to the modern teleology of progress...pulverizing the coherence and continuity of historical time into innumerable messianic instants” of new possibilities (Marshall, 2009:66).

While *heterosexuality* is framed as a positive African ‘tradition’, ‘tradition’ and the ‘past’ itself are co-opted from scripture and elaborated as *the* authentic Ugandan history. PC narratives that engage with tradition and the past seek to define the ideal Ugandan citizen, locating PC belief in indigenous identity while contesting the ‘outside’ interference of the Western world.

By adopting a theological veneer of development and progress, PCCs do the work of the state in constructing the citizenry. PC discourse conditions the way the past is remembered and the future is imagined. It works to regulate the citizenry by internalising moral subjectivities, “the future of the world is a battle of thoughts and ideas...the Bible is a prescription on how to live our individual lives...for nations” (Watoto Participant Observation, January 2012).

The impact of PCCs is more than ideological. Church discourse defines the terms of citizenship. It informs policy and legislation. Yet, while PCCs critique the ‘external world’, their proliferation was made possible by the foreign funds allocated to private civil society actors and FBOs, with programmes like PEPFAR [see Chapter II]. The churches under consideration both negotiate and further blur the indistinct boundaries that exist between the church and state, as well as the public and private spheres in the Ugandan context. Any meaningful demarcation—although never truly

present—between secular development actors and faith-based organisations was further eroded with the influx of external funding, which worked to legitimise evangelical actors in the development sector as ‘experts’ on public health intervention [see Chapter III].

Pentecostal-Charismatic Churches in Uganda see themselves not just as gatekeepers of spirituality, but as instrumental in the moral, economic, and social transformation of the nation. PCCs aim to locally determine state initiatives, and they have demonstrated a profound influence over public policy, including HIV intervention and the AHB. This reflects a broader attempt to dictate the future through a model of national transformation.

This chapter is structured around time, the PC engagement with the past, present, and future. Time is essential in the nationalist project. Churches construct the citizenry in the present, and reconstruct the past to create a collective national memory for future transformation. Analysis begins in the present.

The first section considers the way PC narratives of disciplined bodies attempt to regulate individual behaviour. The emphasis on the individual enables broader social transformation. As individual transformation generates national transformation, the focus on sexuality and health is integral in church agendas. Churches aim to govern individual subjectivities to create a self-regulating citizenry who “vote conscientiously, invest responsibly, and work diligently, while moving about and maintaining the modern city with suitable civic pride” (Legg, 2005:140).<sup>71</sup>

Church regulation over the physical body functions in a similar vein to other forms of civil society (Foucault, 1988:296), and employs Foucauldian techniques of governmentality intent on creating a ‘responsible’ and ‘disciplined’ citizenry. PCCs inscribe spiritual meaning on the physical body. The corporeal becomes fixed in

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<sup>71</sup> Regardless if individuals privately comply with PC behavioural precepts, the overall goal is to constitute the principles of individual behaviour to build the nation. Nationalist projects are always contested, “There is no singular, irreducible national narrative...there always exist counter claims and alternative readings” (Bell, 2003:73-74).

Pentecostal-Charismatic principles, reinforced by an ever-vigilant spiritual and church gaze to govern the way individuals behave. PCCs position non-reproductive sexuality and disease as major impediments to national progress. Both expose the presence of sin—bodies living outside of the bounds of acceptable moral behaviour—and subvert attempts to garner the Divine favour that is promised with Pentecostal-Charismatic conversion. Consequently, the identification of ‘deviant’ bodies is necessary to isolate and correct behaviour that diverges from Pentecostal-Charismatic norms. The church regulates and reforms the citizenry for what they see as the public good.

The second section considers the way PCCs engage with the past by reinterpreting local conceptions of ‘tradition’ and collective memory. For Anderson, if “nation-states are widely conceded to be ‘new’ and ‘historical’, the nations to which they give political expression always look out of an immemorial past” (Anderson, 1991:51). This is an essential part of the project of rebirth. The way the past is remembered is “a driving force for change and a means of articulating new values and ideas...by introducing a highly selective attitude to [history and tradition], alternating between rejection and acceptance, suppression and elaboration...a new national memory and tradition” is constructed (Zerubavel, 1995:3). The Ugandan Pentecostal-Charismatic movement uses time and memory both to critique the postcolonial legacy and to elaborate a cohesive national identity. As a nationalist discourse PCCs engage with tradition and the past in an effort to further define the Ugandan citizenry and contextualise a ‘new’ national community.

While much analysis has focused on the ahistorical and future orientation of the Pentecostal-Charismatic movement, the churches under consideration exist as much in the past as in the present and future. While PC nationalist discourse aims to reclaim ‘our Uganda’, it simultaneously demonstrates the contradictions of PC Christianity. By appropriating tradition and the past to define the future, the imagined future in many ways mirrors the Western world it critiques and maintains the global economic paradigm.

The final section is an exploration of the future, or the PCC's view for the country, to understand discursive moral regulation as a means of national transformation. Disunity is seen as an obstacle to progress, yet, churches promise to overcome the legacy of disunity by offering a 'new' collective identity. From the perspective of PCCs, excluding identities that are discordant to the national project engenders a more cohesive national identity. While Anderson notes nationalist projects rely on the memories of the past, the most important aspect is the way they imagine the collective future. Nations may "loom out of an immemorial past...[to] glide into a limitless future. It is the magic of nationalism to turn chance into destiny" (Anderson, 1991:51). The present creates the citizen, the past evokes a 'new' national memory to form a collective identity, and the future offers what all nationalist projects imply, progress and transformation.

### ***The Reborn Present: Regulating the Body to Establish the Future***

For the Ugandan PC movement regulating and transforming the physical body is the foundation of broader attempts to reform the nation. In the eyes of the Pentecostal movement collective prosperity begins with the individual. The process of personal salvation not only symbolises the potential for national salvation and the prosperity that accompanies it, but actually enables the process. Consequently, Pentecostal discourse is exceedingly focused on regulating and disciplining the behaviour and bodies of its converts. While the present concern with discipline extends far beyond sexuality, it is positioned as the main impediment. Sexuality has also changed the way churches engage with the past, and it reveals the nationalist character of the movement. 'Disciplined sex' is indicative of wider transformative aims to establish a vital, disciplined population capable of transforming the nation.

Sexual purity is the central characteristic of the type of moral citizenry PCCs aim to produce. The church emphasis on sexual purity is entangled with national identity, processes of globalisation, state autonomy, and the postcolonial legacy. By constructing a distinct citizenry in the present, PC discourse creates "particular national(ist) subjects, that is, the identities of those who 'belong,' who embody the



nationalist ideal and carry out nationalist projects” (Zake, 2002:218). *Public rebirth* is first and foremost “an ideologically driven process of subject formation” (Zake, 2002:220).

This section addresses the importance of sexual purity in creating a moral citizenry capable of transforming the nation and attaining the boundless future promised in Pentecostal discourse. Sexual purity is comprised of two main elements: freedom from disease, specifically HIV, and sexual morality, or heteronormative sex, abstinence and monogamy. While transforming the individual is imperative Ugandan PCCs do not only stress the individual, the family is also an integral part of transformation. First individual sexual purity is addressed by considering the Foucauldian techniques churches exhibit to reinforce purity and establish the ideal citizen. Afterwards analysis turns to conceptions of the family to see how the individual frame is applied more collectively. By considering PC discourse’s emphasis on the individual in the present the results of the *public rebirth*, or moral realignment of public space, is better articulated. The present is about defining the citizenry.

### *The Docile Body*

For PCCs preventing HIV is only achieved by adopting moral strategies, abstaining from sex, and a monogamous marriage. In this frame eliminating HIV nationally depends on PC identity. HIV is representative of sin and the only viable way to avoid infection is by adopting the moral strategies advocated by churches and in public health campaigns [see Chapters IV-VII].

Yet, this is merely one component of the Pentecostal view concerning sexuality and Ugandan society. For the churches under consideration the divergent sexuality of the Western world stands at odds with the ‘local’ values appropriated by PCCs, namely sexual purity. The perceived degradation of Ugandan society must be rectified through spiritual intervention. In turn this requires creating a population of *docile* bodies, or bodies “that may be subjected, used, transformed, and improved...achieved through a strict regiment of disciplinary acts” (Foucault,

1977:136). Ugandans are encouraged to “apply [the] discipline” learned from abstinence to all realms of life to achieve “collective success as a people, greater than...individual achievements...to serve the country” (One Love Interview, May 2012).

The main strategy encourages believers to remain sexually pure. Purity is an ‘untainted’ body, achieved by abstaining from premarital sex and/or maintaining a monogamous marriage. These are the only paths to prevention, because “the decision to save sex...[you] know for sure...[you] know for sure...you are abiding in God’s kingdom” (One Love Interview, May 2012). However, the frame of purity applies not only to disease, but ‘contracting’ a multitude of sins, like poverty and homosexuality.<sup>72</sup> Homosexuality is understood as a learned practice, and churches employ a missionary narrative of North American and European homosexuals venturing to Uganda to recruit a new generation of practitioners [see Chapter III].

For the churches under consideration individuals either “abide in our environment or die of AIDS...[but] if you abide God will keep you safe” (One Love Participant Observation, May 2010). Pastor Ssempe of *One Love* espouses the view that an omniscient Lord extends Divine shelter over the lives of His believers. Salvation promises protection from HIV. This is reinforced in Pastor Ssempe’s account of his own spiritual transformation, without which he claims he would have contracted the disease because of his own sinful lifestyle (One Love Participant Observation, June 2010). On an individual scale the negotiation and contraction of HIV is personalised, infused with agency and choice as the systemic contributions to the disproportionate rates of HIV in the sub-Saharan Africa are diminished in lieu of personal moral failure and lack of self-discipline. As accountability shifts onto the individual the contraction of HIV becomes a matter of choice, as with non-normative sexuality. These views concerning sexuality begin to comprise the subjectivities of the converted, the way they see the world and how that impacts their behaviour, as Pentecostal subjects.

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<sup>72</sup> In PC discourse poverty is a state that is both learned, through “a spirit of complacency and dependence” (MCC Participant Observation, March 2012) and chosen. By becoming reborn you gain God’s favour and the economic blessing that comes along.

Discourse is central in creating Pentecostal subjects, as it helps render individual understandings of knowledge and truth. For Foucault this is the way power operates, and discourse is an integral part in exerting power:

Each society has its regime of truth, its 'general politics' of truth: that is, the types of discourse which it accepts and makes function as true; the mechanisms and instances which enable one to distinguish true and false statements, the means by which each is sanctioned; the techniques and procedures accorded value in the acquisition of truth; the status of those who are charged with saying what counts as true (Foucault, 1980: 131).

For the churches under consideration weekly sermons, radio and video broadcasts, and other forms of public discourse generate the sexual truth of believers. These authoritarian discourses prescribe extremely rigid codes of conduct upon believers, while simultaneously placing the emphasis on self-reform. For the Pentecostal subject the only way to prevent HIV is to abstain from sex or have a monogamous marriage, and homosexuality stands as a moral abomination exported from the depraved West.

While the power of PCCs begins discursively it includes particular active techniques of governmentality, techniques aimed at regulating conduct. For the churches under consideration this includes directing the behaviour of individual bodies in order to ultimately form a more disciplined and cohesive Ugandan public in the hopes of generating national prosperity. To achieve these goals churches exercise control and regulate individual behaviour through various practices. Techniques intent on governing conduct, or governmentality, have proved a concern beyond the state and extend to a “great plurality of the practices, techniques, and rationalities through which people come to be managed” (Eves, 2011:759). For Foucault, this is achieved through the “techniques and procedures” used to “direct human behaviour” both on an individual scale and across the broader social body (Foucault, 1997:81).

Governmentality takes place at the juncture between technologies of power that govern “the conduct of individuals and submit them to certain ends” and technologies of the self that “permit individuals to effect by their own means...a

certain...way of being” (Foucault, 1997:225). While certain technologies of power operate by constraining the conduct of individuals, technologies of the self induce self-governance (Eves, 2011). For Foucault, these technologies “hardly ever function separately...Each implies certain modes of training and modification of individuals, not only in the obvious sense of acquiring certain skills but also in the sense of acquiring certain attitudes” (Foucault, 1997:225).

Churches demonstrate both techniques because they work together, as modes of power induce techniques of the self. As a result it is impossible to distinguish one mode from the other, as they are one and the same. Furthermore while churches rely on external technologies of power, like public abstinence pledges, such modes can be negotiated or resisted outside of church walls. In contrast techniques of the self prove more invasive in the lives of believers. All of the churches under consideration monitor the behaviour of congregants, as an exercise of power over the lives of believers.

At *One Love* members are encouraged to always be “checking on each other...applying discipline...and restraint”, attending dates together, and informing senior church members if a fellow born again ‘slips’ (One Love Interview, May 2012). Abstinence vows, public pledges, and the necessary public testimony that occurs when ‘immoral’ behaviour inevitably occurs reinforce the ability of the church to regulate and discipline believers. Yet, these techniques become internalised as modes of self-discipline that adherents use to regulate themselves, to be responsible for their own morality and sexual health by applying self-discipline. This is most effectively demonstrated in the wide use of the ABC initiative. For example at *One Love*, members take public abstinence pledges, they announce their oath to the audience on Sundays and friends are encouraged to monitor their behaviour, to attend dates with each other in order to avoid ‘dangerous’ situations that may threaten their abstinence. Participants are also encouraged to sign pledge cards, these cards are then kept in wallets and pocketbooks to serve as a constant reminder of their vow. For some, “the card is all I need, eventually I look at the card and I know the promise I made” (One Love Interview, May 2012).

Throughout all of the churches under consideration members sign pledges, seek counselling and attend church events knowing that leaders and members are “looking at them, looking out for their behaviour” (Watoto Participant Observation, February 2012). Alternative events are offered by churches on Friday and Saturday nights to prevent members from going to nightclubs and other sites that are deemed unacceptable. Sanctions are applied against behaviour that falls out of bounds, “I backslid, I went out and backslid [having sex], but I told my brothers at church and we prayed, I testified that Sunday” (*ibid*). Clearly in PC Christianity—as well as in most forms of Christianity—confession is fundamental to religious practice.

The necessity of confession for PC believers takes on a public nature, confessing to not only a spiritual figurehead and the Divine, but often to the congregation as well. PC confession acts as an external technology of power as friends and colleagues take on collective responsibility for maintaining the moral behaviour of the congregation. The shame of the public testimony stands as a constant reminder that “I let my church down...I let myself down” (Watoto Participant Observation, June 2012). Friends in church “check on each other...hold me accountable...it goes much more than AIDS prevention here, we are talking healthy lifestyles...we need restraint, discipline...[my girlfriend and I] don’t take dates alone...we encourage each other and other people” to exercise control (One Love Interview, May 2012). This is an essential element to the modern exertion of power as individuals reveal their sins to a power figure, be it religious figure or medical doctor, knowledge concerning the governing of individual bodies is circulated above. (Tell, 2010:95).

Yet, believers internalise the need for self-discipline and regulate themselves. At *Miracle*, “I changed my ways at first I knew the church was watching, friends, God, I didn’t want to let them down, then I learned that I could be watching and be strong” (Miracle Participant Observation, March 2012). Sexuality purity “is self control, it’s respect and responsibility in regard to your sexuality...a choice, a habit...it requires discipline and disciplined thinking...disciplined choices” (Watoto Participant Observation, February 2012). Further evoking the ABC model used in HIV

prevention, Pastor Gary tells his parishioners that maintaining sexual purity is a “simple...[as] ABC”, abstinence, faithfulness and Christ (*ibid*).

Adopting a disciplinary frame also helps reveal one reason that condoms have become vilified in public debates. For Pentecostals condoms are symbolic of a lack of restraint and discipline over the self. This undermines the national project of transformation. Condoms must be discouraged because they allow users to ‘get away’ with a lack of discipline, “the joke of the condom, says to me I don’t trust you...you could harm me” (One Love Interview, May 2012). Its use signals the absence of a disciplined body.

For the Pentecostal movement creating disciplined followers is the key to generating its broader nationalist aims, in this respect techniques of the self, like celibacy and other forms of self discipline, are the most significant forms of governmentality employed by churches in the exertion of power. This is because from the perspective of PCCs sex outside of the bounds of purity breeds chaotic societies that confuse the three main objectives of sex: procreation, recreation, and preservation (Watoto Participant Observation, February 2012). Pastor Gary explains that “homosexual love will never be marriage...it is abnormal, it’s perverted sexuality...[marital relationships] brings security to society...the health of society...[sexual impurity] degrades our bodies” (*ibid*).

In PC discourse sexual purity is a decision that is upheld through disciplined and habituated behaviour. Individuals who fail to discipline their behaviour destabilise the project of transformation, to choose to sin is to consciously decide to defer the nation’s prosperous future. Beyond a symbol of non-compliance, sin is viewed as an obstacle to national progress. Transforming Uganda’s future is contingent on rendering a holy land, a clean land, pure from sin, and begins in an individual choice.

The body exists within discursive parameters of power that work to individually discipline behaviour while broadly helping to shape the direction of public policy and thus the country. PC discourse inscribes meaning upon bodies—the individual,

the church, and the nation—in order to evoke change. This ideology is institutionally reinforced throughout civil society and the Ugandan state and creates consciousness in the body “of the national(list) self-hood” (Zake, 2002:219).

In the context of Uganda the formation of docile bodies is contingent on the internalisation of normalised subjectivities reinforced by institutions—like the PCCs—that prioritise self-control and obedience. This works to reinforce a binary model of right and wrong, fortifying individualised conceptions of PC morality in an oppositional frame that allows for little divergence, albeit outright resistance by a counterpublic (Warner, 2002). Ssempea’s warning to his parishioners to “abide in our environment or die” demonstrates this binary (Makerere Participant Observation, June 2010). In PC discourse there is but one choice, God, rather a Pentecostal-Charismatic God.

The creation of disciplined bodies reveals “a politics concerned with subjects as members of a population, in which individual sexual and reproductive conduct interconnect with issues of national policy and power” (Gordon, 1991:4-5). Disciplined individual behaviour “is greater than to the church, but to the country, the continent...we are able to speak to the up and coming leaders, [tell them] to serve their country...we want a faith that is about the issues of our country, be good stewards of the nation” (One Love Interview, May 2012). Modes of governmentality that oscillate between techniques of the self and techniques of power, like vows of abstinence and monogamy, serve as a starting point for believers to prove to themselves that they can control urges that are divergent to PC lifestyles. For churches this reinforces the notion that if we can abstain from our inherent sexual desires we can transform our nation.

### *The Vehicle of Rebirth*

The individual is integral to the project of *rebirth*. However, the role of the family is equally important. While the individual exists in the present, the family represents the future. Disease and sexual purity pose the greatest threat to the individual, but from the perspective of PCCs homosexuality is of the utmost danger to the family.

According to Zake, “in most nationalist ideologies, family is treated as an ultimate embodiment of the nation, its values, behaviour...the source of national unity, purity and cultural uniqueness” (Zake, 2002:234). In the Western context, sexuality and the family have long been bound to the creation of national identity (Stychin, 1998). As “nations are symbolically figured as domestic genealogies...the ‘national family’...naturalizing” understandings of the family (McClintock, 1995:358). PCCs use the structure of the family as a vehicle to transform the nation. As PC ideology largely surpasses the state in rendering collective subjectivity, in turn PC discourse informs the subjectivity of the state itself.

According to Pastor Rwabwogo, the family is vital to the future as the children are “of tomorrow in our nation...[the] people who will grow up to do great things” (CNC Participant Observation, April 2012). The threat of corrupting the up-and-coming generation, the generation charged with delivering the nation, undermines that very future. At CNC Rwabwogo asks “God...[to] protect these children in this dangerous world [so that] no one will snatch them out of your hand...we pray they know the Lord...so they may fulfil their destiny...nothing should come into their lives that is not of God. We are calling on this generation of children” (*ibid*).

The imperative to marry—and protect the children—reflects the obligation of familial duty and procreation within the context of Uganda, particularly with the rise of the born-again movement and the mission of transformation by the next generation of leaders. According to Pastor Gary, sexual purity will “transform the nation with integrity...you want to transform the life of Ugandan families...have children and raise children in the security of a loving Godly home” (Watoto Participant Observation February, 2012).

As demonstrated by Boellstorff, “the pressure to marry heterosexually emerges more often through a combination of religious and family pressure...this marriage imperative is not independent of national discourse: it is usually powerfully shaped by a notion that national belonging hinges on participation in a normatively heterosexual family” (Boellstorff, 2012:183). The use of a family model in church



discourse parallels nationalist projects beyond Uganda, yet, the centrality of the family demonstrates the movement's broader transformative aims. Strategies of purity and family are consistent beliefs throughout all of the churches under consideration and thus are more representative of PC Christianity in the Ugandan context. Yet, a major element in constructions of sexuality has to do with the PC imagining of tradition or the past.

### *Situating Tradition and the Past*

Before analysis turns to how themes of tradition and the past are now used in the Pentecostal project, the way these concepts are applied in PC and national discourse must be clarified. To elucidate these concepts I turn to the text of the AHB. PCCs were instrumental in its drafting [see Chapter III], and their influence is apparent in the very text of the Bill. The law aims to “strengthen the nation’s capacity to deal with the emerging internal and external threats to the *traditional* heterosexual family...[from] the attempts of sexual rights activists seeking to impose *their* values of sexual promiscuity on the people of Uganda” (Anti-Homosexuality Bill, 2009).<sup>73</sup>

The statement suggests a rigid heterosexual model is the familial archetype in Ugandan society. According to Cheney, “tradition is reified in the language of the bill in such a way that ‘the traditional family’ is seen as statically heterosexual, belying the multiple family formations that have historically characterized...Ugandan social and sexual reproduction...in fact Ugandans have always had very pliable family arrangements that involve...widespread informal child fosterage and polygamy” (Cheney, 2012:86). PC discourse approaches tradition and the past in two prevailing ways. These frames are apparent in the Legislation, and subsequently the moral project of transforming the Ugandan state and society.

First PC discourse recognises various family arrangements and ‘traditions’ of Ugandan culture as negatives. At *Watoto*, they renounce “sins of the past...the tradition of polygamy...[and] promiscuity” and recognise that “the best place to begin a culture changing revolution is in the family...a healthy family is the result of

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<sup>73</sup> Emphasis added.

a healthy culture” (Watoto Participant Observation, July 2012). The synonymous use of past, culture, and tradition blurs any distinction in meaning. The terms are merged in PC discourse and are used interchangeably. A member of *One Love* clarified the use of the terms “tradition and the past...they are the same...they are culture...but our culture, our tradition, our past...our us, Uganda, it is broken” (One Love Interview, May 2012).

Some elements of unhealthy traditional culture that churches aim to relegate to the past include tribalism, religious sectarianism, poverty, witchcraft, and sexual promiscuity (Uganda Declaration, 2012). At *Watoto*, “we must overcome this culture of poverty, of begging, of disunity...inscribed in our traditions, inscribed in our past” (Watoto Participant Observation, March 2012).

Yet, while tradition and the past employ equivalent meanings and are often described as negatives, something to transcend, *homosexuality* changes the way PC discourse engages with these themes. Homosexuality redefines the way PCCs frame the synonymous categories of tradition, culture, and the past, evident in the text of the Legislation. In an open letter to *Christianity Today*, Pastor Ssempea stated:

[R]ich Europeans and Americans [*sic*] groups who are scouring our traditional African view of marriage and family...Africa 101: Homosexuality is illegal, unnatural, ungodly and un-African...[homosexuality breaks] the law of our faiths in the Holy Bible...[and] the law of our African tribal cultures which have been handed down to us by our fathers from thousands of years of civilized traditions (Christianity Today, 2009).

Moses at *Miracle* reiterates Pastor Ssempea’s words and displays the positive-negative binary of tradition and the past. For Moses, homosexuality:

Is from the West, Africans respect tradition, what you see is because of Western education. The Legislation would strengthen African culture and Christian morals, because real African culture is about discipline. Some of our traditions have even led to Africans staying behind and the West brought positives, but they bring degradation too, it destroys our moral culture. We always had good morals, we had some bad morals too, these things of the past like witchcraft and

sacrifice, all of this, but the West cured us of those, but they brought bad habits. (Moses Interview, April 2012).

The conflation of the categories in regard to homosexuality reveals the second significant frame, Christianity. Paula's statement melds African culture with Christian morals. The Biblical past and Christian tradition are defined as the 'authentic' starting point. *Watoto* calls for a:

Fresh start...a return to the past...oh Israel come back...we are talking about Uganda...return to your God...the future can be better...God wants to put Uganda back together again...lets write some new history...forget the former things do not dwell on the past...return to God...to repossess the land...see prosperity again...history was rewritten we dedicated the land back to God...our traditions...promise to tell [your children] beautiful Bible stories...not African folktales (Watoto Participant Observation, October 2011).

The story of Israel is appropriated in PC discourse, but Uganda is the chosen nation and adopts the Biblical history and tradition of Israel. The times of prosperity that this discourse draws upon are not in Uganda's historical past, but Israel's. The Ugandan past and tradition are reinscribed by co-opting the Biblical past. Now that these themes have been elaborated, our analysis turns to the way PC discourse calls upon the past.

### ***A Return to the Reinscribed Past***

This section explores how PC discourse redefines the past and tradition in order to establish a collective consciousness for the project of national transformation. First, analysis elaborates the prevailing frame of PCCs and the past in academic literature. This allows further discussion to highlight how the Ugandan context diverges from other examples when sexuality is incorporated. Discussion then turns to the contradictions of the past. This illustrates how the past and tradition are not always framed as a positive. The last section is an exploration of the sexual past. This section elaborates how sexuality has redefined the PC engagement with tradition and history. The past is about forming a collective memory.

A significant body of work on PC Christianity (Engelke, 2010; Meyer, 1998; Robbins, 2007; van Dijk, 2001) considers the movement's relationship to the past or rupture, namely individual converts ability to 'break' with past ties in an effort to forge a new, born-again self. In this way existing research highlights the ability of PCCs to negatively frame tradition and the past, something to be transcended.

As Meyer demonstrates:

[I]n pentecostalist discourse, 'tradition' is represented as the trauma of the born again person. Despite the emphasis on rejecting 'the past' people are told that 'the past' matters... rejecting this history...[to] (re)gain control over their lives. What is at work here is a dialectics of appropriation and rejection of the 'the past.' This dialectics makes possible a practice of confronting links with the satanic in order to become pure and free, a practice of becoming aware of one's links with 'tradition' and hence one's family in order to become 'modern,' a practice of remembering in order to forget (Meyer, 1998:332).

The Ugandan example clearly demonstrates processes of "remembering in order to forget" (Meyer, 1998:332). However, in Kampala PC discourse also illustrates a process of remembering in order *not* to forget or break with the past, but a desire to sever *certain* ties and recreate other 'past' forms. This is a process of selective remembering in an effort to evoke a past time that is seemingly lost due to the hegemonic influence of the Western world and the colonial past, and demonstrates the nationalist frame employed in PC discourse to autonomously render the future. Van Dijk demonstrates that PCCs in Malawi critically engage with the past to invoke a particular future trajectory (van Dijk, 1998).

The Malawian example illustrates that nostalgic representations of the past were drawn on by the state as a means of negotiating a pluralist society in an effort to forge a more homogenous national identity. In this context the PCC stood at odds with the project of the postcolonial state, as the new generation represented in PC Christianity offered an anti-nostalgic critique that evoked a strong future orientation. For van Dijk, "the project of cultural discontinuity so unambiguously preached by the Born-Again leaders led to specific constructions of subjective identity, but it

clashed with Banda's political project of reinstating chosen cultural practices as a framework for national identity formation" (van Dijk, 1998:169).

In the Ugandan context the appropriation of tradition does not occur in order to 'become aware' of the past to embrace modernity or the future alone. Rather remembering functions as a means to 'become aware' of past constructs in order to return and progress. This is more reflective of the political project of the Malawian state, rather than the PCCs, that appropriated a nostalgic past "to construct identity as single, centred, bounded" (van Dijk, 1998:176). The construction of a more singular national identity in the Ugandan context is based on merging specific, yet contested, cultural forms that are located in a fluid chronology. Yet, PCCs purposefully exclude 'traditional' qualities that clash with PC belief.

The selective quality of PC Christianity is a syncretic process of remembrance. 'Traditional' forms can conflict, and take on both positive and negative meaning. The past can represent modernity, which inhabits positive characteristics, but also represents the perceived influx of deteriorating external culture. Sexual immorality maintains an ambiguous alliance in both past and present.

Ugandan PC Christianity, in contrast to other examples, employs a more superficial engagement with traditional religious practice. Evil spirits exist and impact the negotiation of faith and morality in a very substantive way. However, the PCCs under consideration engage more with the external Western world as the destabilising factor, rather than the real presence of local evil or immoral cultural vestiges.

Cultural heritage, tradition, and the past in PC discourse link the past and present. Tradition and the way it is remembered and reinscribed involves the formation of national cultural identity. Nostalgic memory that evokes a sense of loss and longing for the past, has proved a unifying force in nationalist projects (Legg, 2004). According to Stathern nostalgia is substantive as it "evoke[s] the past" (Strathern 1995:111). Beyond romanticising what once was, nostalgia is "an attachment that is

and can only be realized in the present” (*ibid*). For Battaglia nostalgia is also aligned in the future “a vehicle of knowledge...a sense of future...of possessing the means of controlling the future...[and] social reconnection” (Battaglia, 1995:77-78). Yet, nostalgic remembrance is also selective, as the PC vision of the future necessitates both a selective nostalgic and critical remembrance of the past.

This is anchored to a sense of place and country. As demonstrated by Gupta and Ferguson, modernity—in the sense of the erosion of a more static concept of space—has given way to the imagining of ‘utopias’ in more local rather than universalised terms and has heightened the importance “of attaching causes to places and the ubiquity of place making in collective political mobilization” (Gupta & Ferguson, 1992:527). For Anderson the nation is defined thusly: “[i]f nation-states are widely conceded to be ‘new’ and ‘historical’, the nations to which they give political expression always loom out of an immemorial past...[and] glide into a limitless future. It is the magic of the nationalism to turn chance into destiny” (Anderson, 1991:49-51). PC discourse instructs believers on how to ‘glide into a limitless future’, and the past is essential in rendering a more collective imagining of the nation and national identity.

Meyer explains that PC Christianity helps adherents negotiate between what they wish to leave behind and the state they aim to attain (Meyer, 1998:332). Yet, what if the desired condition *is* strongly oriented in the past and articulated through a discursive frame that simultaneously reimagines, romanticises, and condemns past or traditional states? In the context of Uganda, PCCs exhibit both a strong future and past orientation. Research (de Witte, 2003; Droz, 2001; Hackett, 1998; Marshall-Fratani, 1998; Maxwell, 1998; Meyer, 1997) demonstrates that PC Christianity serves as a means of negotiating modernity and grants followers access to networks entrenched in global markets. As a result a body of research situates PC Christianity in ‘ethnographies of modernity’ (Meyer, 2004:459). Yet, in the Ugandan context the strong alliance with modernity has also brought about a reawakening of what is locally framed as ‘tradition’.

In many respects certain elements of the ‘past’ or ‘tradition’ remain firmly aligned with the ‘satanic’ or ‘dark’ forces that believers must ‘break’ free of in order to progress to the desired born-again state. On an individual and collective level, “generations of sin, the family history...open the door for the enemy to come...[like] witchcraft [and] tribalism” (CNC Participant Observation, April 2012). Yet, certain attributes or elements of the ‘past’ have been simultaneously reinscribed with traditional value and meaning.

### *Contradictions of the Past*

All of the churches under consideration regularly denounce practices that fall into the bounds of ‘traditional religion’—practices like witchcraft, idolatry, and religious sectarianism (Uganda Declaration, 2012)—and elements that are often framed as ‘traditional culture’—tribalism, sexual immorality (*ibid*). But factors that are aligned as the products of ‘modernity’—alcoholism, sexual immorality, poverty, chaos, debt, crime, and disunity (*ibid*)—are vigorously condemned as well. Yet, ‘tradition’ is also beneficial and certain elements of ‘traditional’ culture are upheld and appropriated in the frame of PC discourse. This is a part of a nostalgic plea for adherents to return to particular past forms that are viewed as conducive to national progress.<sup>74</sup>

It is evident that the churches under consideration propound rupture, encouraging adherents to ‘break with the past’. ‘Traditional’ culture and religious practice are critically framed in church discourse. The necessity to break with the past is made clear at *Watoto* when Pastor Gary Skinner describes the “broke [African] history” to his parishioners, and reassures them that “Africa is changing” due to the proliferation of PC churches (Watoto, Participant Observation, March 2012). While the exact frame of ‘the past’ remains vague at all of the churches under consideration, the return called for is largely twofold, engaging with both an ancient and a more immediate past.

First and foremost believers are encouraged to reinstate biblical times. According to Pastor Rwabwogo, “the enemy has gotten us to think that normal life does not

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<sup>74</sup> Church discourse inscribes sexual immorality as representative of both tradition and modernity.

involve the supernatural, healing, the miraculous [aspects of scripture]. Normal Christians we don't have the miraculous...God wants to restore all of that...the atmosphere of heaven should be normal...transformation, change...we are abnormal, make us normal" (CNC Participant Observation, March 2012).

The prevailing narrative of 'return' is described in Sharlet's (2008) examination of American fundamentalism, in what he describes as "a return to the first century of Christ worship, before there was a thing called Christianity. The 'age of miracles,' when *church* was no more than a word for the great fellowship...when...revelation was unburdened by history" (Sharlet, 2008:4). At *Watoto*, "history is rewritten when we dedicate the land back to God...oh Israel come back...Israel was in captivity in Babylon, captivity in another culture" (Watoto Participant Observation, April 2012). The true Ugandan culture is a Biblical culture.

The call for return further empowers the church in Uganda. During a Sunday sermon at *CNC*, Pastor Rwabwogo encourages believers to question popular conceptions of religion. Rwabwogo explains that "religion is manmade...[and] we are tired of a form of religion that has no power" (CNC Participant Observation, February 2012). This sentiment is echoed at *Miracle Centre* when a member of the congregation explains that "God is not building a denomination, he is building a body throughout the world" transcending 'religion' (Miracle Centre Participant Observation, May 2012).

Rwabwogo's statement highlights the drive of the churches under consideration to establish PC Christianity as a voice of authority that extends beyond governing the individual body of the believer but to transform the nation itself. 'Return' is not oriented in the past alone, and the desire to return to biblical times reflects the nation's future.

For the churches under consideration, on a fundamental level the infusion of PC morality into public policy serves as a panacea for all of the nation's woes. According to a member of *Miracle*, "without the church bringing in morals there is



no way a government can act...you put God in [government] values and corruption is eliminated, fighting is eliminated” (Miracle Centre Participant Observation, April 2012).

Yet, more abstractly the presence of the miraculous—supernatural acts—solidifies the presence of Divine favour, working as a tangible illustration of God’s grace. To achieve Divine blessing, particular conditions must be met, congregants must establish a spiritual landscape conducive to secure His blessing. Once individuals—and consequently the nation—adopt Godly principles, “God will provide...God is able to bless you abundantly...when men connect to God the nation gets better” (Watoto Participant Observation, December 2011).

Return is not oriented in biblical times alone. A return to an unspecified ‘traditional’ time of a more immediate and indigenous past is also encouraged. In this frame processes of modernity have seemingly dismantled ‘good’ customs. Qualities believers are encouraged to break away from include laziness, greed, and fiscal irresponsibility, and while *Watoto*’s Pastor Skinner describes these qualities as a “natural state” to fight against, these traits are exacerbated by processes of modernity (Watoto Participant Observation, December 2011).

While modernity is not just negative, it is tied to divergent sexuality, and the association of modern and unrestrained sexuality taints ‘modernity’ in the process. According to Paula, a regular at *Miracle*, “our sexual morals used to be good, but the modern world it brought bad practices...I always thought being a part of the modern world was good...a part of the West...but they have such bad ways...homosexuals [are] okay in that world, and they come to Uganda and tell us we have backward ways...no the modern world has the ways that are broken” (MCC Participant Observation, March 2012).

Yet, the churches under consideration simultaneously uphold and condemn ‘local’ culture. The importance of tradition is articulated with the 2008 event held at *Miracle Centre* entitled ‘Heritage: A Celebration of Diversity’. The occasion included

traditional leaders, like the king of Toro and the Buganda Queen, as well as President Museveni, merging the past with the present. Speaking to the large crowd, Museveni claimed, “we need to emphasize our commonalities, the commonalities will help us move forward” (Miracle Centre Facebook Notes, November 2009).

In an entry on *Miracle Centre*’s Facebook page the event is documented, describing in detail the ‘traditional huts’ that line the marquee. The event symbolised “the very type of heritage [we] are trying to preserve...positive culture promotes positive development...when you promote what is good you are sure you will be there to enjoy the benefits tomorrow” (Miracle Centre Facebook Notes, November 2009). The evening also took the form of a book launch for Jessica Kyanja’s ‘Heritage’, which emphasises the attributes of ‘local’ culture for Ugandan development.

The call on the past is about evoking a unifying national identity—in line with PC belief. The utilisation of tradition both validates PC identity as a Ugandan identity, while negotiating the perceived state of disunity, which stands as an obstacle to national progress. In this way the exclusion of particular identities that are seemingly incompatible with local and PC identity is required.

### *The Sexual Past*

As demonstrated certain elements of tradition are viewed to be beneficial and vital to the transformation of the nation—the “positive culture [that] promotes [positive] development” (Miracle Centre Facebook Notes, November 2009). Yet, certain practices like homosexuality—regardless of the historical documentation of same-sex encounters [see Chapter II]—are diametrically framed to originate from external sources. According to a member of *Miracle*:

Such things [homosexuality] have come from the Western world. Before Africans were tight with tradition. What you see is because of Western education...as much as the Western world has influenced us, they came with culture that can degrade morals. We have always had good morals, but some bad things too like witchcraft. They [the West] broke off those things but at the same time they come with habits. We need to strengthen African culture and Christian morals. Typical

African culture brings discipline, respect, patience, battle-hardened (Miracle Centre Interview, April 2012).

This example makes clear the conflicting frame of tradition within the PC community. In this interpretation while Africans ‘were tight with tradition’ the influence of the West degraded traditional customs and the ‘good morals’ of local people (Miracle Centre Interview, April 2012). Yet, at the same time tradition is not representative of ‘good morals’ alone but is potentially destructive, such as practices like witchcraft, practices that Africans must leave behind to flourish. The contradictory nature of tradition is paralleled in the way the speaker frames Western influence. It is representative of both moral patriarchy by breaking Africans of ‘bad tradition’ and moral degeneration in teaching ‘bad habits’. Here the solution is to simultaneously strengthen African tradition and Christian morality, exemplifying the process of appropriation and localisation that occurs with PC Christianity.

The celebration of tradition in Ugandan PC Christianity is significant and demonstrates that “demonising the cultural and religious past does not help explain the present attraction of Pentecostalism to African peoples, even though it might help in the religious competition that is a feature of pluralist societies” (Anderson, 2000:np). Rather Ugandan manifestations of PC Christianity exhibit what Cox deems an unconscious exchange between PC faith and traditional religious practice that aids in the recovery of fundamental cultural components threatened by the globalised flow of ‘modernity’ (Cox, 1995:228). Sexuality is the consistent factor that results in PC Christianity to partially contest modernity. Modernity is representative of external influence and the deterioration of local tradition.

Sexuality is an integral component in redefining the past while rendering the present environment the context of ‘kingdom mindedness’ advocated for by *Watoto* [see Chapter VI]. Sexual purity is a central strategy of national transformation. As the Ugandan PC movement is aligned in a project of resurrecting the nation that merges indigenous identity with God and future progress, PCCs define ‘traditional’ sexuality in a normative frame. The heteronormative frame draws on local and African identity

to further secure the nation's future, forging a unified Ugandan identity through the exclusion of divergent sexualities.

While 'tradition' includes expressions of sexuality that diverge from normative heterosexuality articulated by PCCs in Uganda [see Chapter II] a process of selective remembering is evidenced in the PC frame of sexuality. 'African' sexuality is aligned with heterosexuality. Consequently the past must be reinscribed—[hetero]sexually—to reinforce the external frame of homosexuality. The necessity to imbue tradition positively, which stands at odds with the Pentecostal-Charismatic quality to break with the past and condemn traditional practice, reflects the nationalist agenda of PC churches in Kampala to 'deliver' the country and its people. In this way drawing on 'tradition' validates the internal project of nation building by PC Churches, as the 'local' identity that is called upon must essentially be a 'good' identity in line with PC morality.

The rejection of homosexuality indicates a rejection of colonialism and the postcolonial legacy through heteronormative representations of the past. Hoad (2007), Epprecht (2008), and Gunkel (2010) have all demonstrated the use of homophobic rhetoric as a response to Western authority. Citing Foucault (1978), Oinas claims that "sexuality can be seen as a focal point that captures a wide array of meaning making on a set of key issues for society...[this tells us] about the imagined ideal relationship between the individual and the state...utopias for an ideal state and good society" (Oinas, 2011:5).

Consequently, the need to reimagine the past as a coherent and idealised representation further demonizes Western intervention. This frame suggests that if Ugandans were simply left to their own devices, free from foreign determination and intervention, the nation would morally, politically, and economically thrive. According to Maddox (2005), the 'invention of tradition' by colonial authorities in Tanzania served as a site for the production of social norms to aid in domination. The reimagining of tradition is necessary in the Ugandan context since the colonial past has obscured traditional practice. In this respect, Pentecostal-Charismatic Churches serve

as a site of nationalism, recreating the past while shaping the future orientation of the country, as well as a site of critique to external determinants, proving a more pressing ‘local’ than ‘global’ orientation.

### ***The Reborn Future***

The purpose of this section is to illustrate the frame of the future in PC discourse. In Uganda the draw on the past and the disciplining of the present is in order to evoke the ideal future. First the type of imagined future is considered. Churches aim to establish an autonomous future and prosperous future, free from the Western world. The obstacle that disunity serves to the project of moral transformation is then considered, and illustrates the importance in establishing a collective identity.

In the Ugandan context sermons regularly call believers to pray for Uganda to fulfil its destiny. At a typical *Covenant Nations*’ Sunday service, Pastor Rwabwogo called on the congregation to thank God for the nation of Uganda, “to reinstate it to its true position...[to] take Uganda to its Canaan, to its destiny, no [evil] infiltration in the name of God, pray for the spirit of Uganda, the spirit of nationalism...Uganda has the right to prosper...I’m proud to be Ugandan...buy a Ugandan flag” (CNC Participant Observation, December 2011). The intersections between national identity and religious identity are evident; to be a good Christian at CNC is to be a good Ugandan to enable the nation’s intended destiny.

For Kayanja of *Miracle Centre* the founding of the nation is entangled with divine purpose, “the founding fathers of this great nation set dates for our independence...little did they know that the numbers in that date...had spiritual implications...nations are founded and established to accomplish assignments...the reward of accomplishing their God-given assignments is purpose. Every nation must not only be purpose driven, but purpose living” (Pastor Kayanja Facebook Page, 23/5/2012). In Kayanja’s account the nation must be led by divine purpose to achieve its predetermined destiny.

At *Watoto* “it’s a fresh start for...Uganda...Uganda come back, return to your God...confess what we have done wrong...he will heal our waywardness...God is saying to Uganda it is time for a fresh start...in God’s economy there is a special fresh start every fifty years it is called Jubilee...the next fifty years will be much better than the past” (Watoto Participant Observation, January 2012).

Pastor Gary provides a four-step plan to return the nation to God: beginning with reconnecting to God through words of repentance, realigning to the character and word of God, recommit to God to achieve his favour, which allows repossession of the land and territory from Satan (Watoto Participant Observation, January 2012). According to Pastor Gary, “God gives every nation land to possess...God made the nations...God gave Ugandans Uganda...so people would turn to God...a nation needs to emulate and copy the character of Jesus...to help us have a nation in alignment...to repossess the land and see prosperity again” (*ibid*).

At *One Love* the frame of nationalism reflects a more radical form, contesting external imposition and increased state sovereignty. In a Sunday service Pastor Ssempe applauded the biblical example of Esther for her sense of patriotism. Esther was from one of the tribes of Israel. She grew up in exile and became a queen in Persia. When the Jews in Persia were set to be executed, Esther risks her own safety by divulging her Jewish heritage by petitioning the king to save her people from death.

Pastor Ssempe asked the congregation to “pray for this generation of leaders in Uganda...Africans must stop being desperate...raise leaders who won’t sell our nation...pray for Museveni and Janet to lead our nation” (One Love Participant Observation, May 2012). In an interview Pastor Ssempe clarified his role in the progress of the nation, “a country needs a leader who is patriotic, who is not stalling. Look at growing your own leaders...We want a faith that is about the issues of our country, be good stewards of the nation” (Ssempe Interview, May 2012).

Pastor Ssempe regularly calls for the West to stay out of Ugandan affairs. While he has received funds from UNAIDS for HIV programmes himself (Makerere Interview, May 2010), Ssempe denounces globally drafted development policies that call for the use of condoms and the inclusion of sexual rights into regional legislation. At *One Love* “a global clash of culture and ideology...[is taking place and] Uganda is a battle ground...it’s offensive to me that every time a black man does something good, you have to say that a white man told us to do it” (Ssempe, 2010). For Pastor Ssempe achieving a more Divine nation is part and parcel with achieving a more autonomous nation.

Yet, all of the churches under consideration project a preordained Divine destiny for Uganda—to set the country on the proper path it has been askew from for the past fifty years. To have a prosperous and patriotic Uganda necessitates a holier Uganda. While a host of obstacles stand in the way of national progress one of the most serious is sexual immorality, represented by disease and homosexuality. At *Watoto*:

Seeing a better future...provokes change...vision brings unity...vision brings money...think of the massive social problems we face because we have not lined up our lives to God’s rightful ownership of our sexuality...HIV/AIDS...the same sex agenda...we align sexuality to God’s intended created order and everything falls into place, there is not one area of our lives that should not come into the sovereignty of God (Watoto Participant Observation, April 2012).

While the statement highlights the intersections between sexuality, disease, and the nation’s future, another central element is underscored—unity. In order to progress Uganda needs unity. According to Pastor Gary the nation needs:

Good leadership...in every sphere of influence, but it needs to begin with political leadership because God chooses political leaders...it should begin with our national leaders...this has happened to a degree in the last six months in the activities that took place in October at our national jubilee celebrations...two things...the president of this nation...stood up in the national stadium and he prayed a prayer of repentance (Watoto Participant Observation, January 2012).

Pastor Gary then read a speech given by President Museveni, dedicating the nation to God in its entirety, before mentioning the second sign of progress, the Jubilee dinner where the Uganda Declaration [see Chapter VI] was introduced to influential political and societal figures.

### *The Obstacle of Disunity*

Other than sexual purity disunity presents a main obstacle to Uganda's future progress. For Anderson imaginings of the nation necessitate a cohesive image of a community to bind inherently discordant groups together (Anderson, 1991:5). This is "because, regardless of the actual inequality and exploitation that may prevail...the nation is always conceived as a deep, horizontal comradeship" (Anderson, 1991:7). Churches call for new "united history...to dedicate the land back to God" and PC Christianity is the vehicle to unity (Watoto Participant Observation, April 2012)

For *Watoto* the ability of PCCs to unify the nation was demonstrated at the celebration of Uganda's independence. The Uganda Jubilee Network is a Christian interdenominational association that creates awareness of the country's jubilee or fiftieth anniversary of independence, and creates "new foundations...in the nation for the next 50 years...[to enter] into a time of divine visitation" (Uganda Jubilee, 2012). According to Pastor Gary, "in the Uganda Jubilee Network we had all of the Pentecostals...all of the Anglicans...they were all in unity together...we will learn from the past to let Uganda be more glorious than it was before" (Watoto Participant Observation, April 2012).

Yet, division remains a constant theme in the Ugandan public sphere. Internally Ugandan history is framed as bearing a legacy of sectarianism that has undermined the nation. In a 2013 editorial published in the *New Vision* President Museveni articulates the relevance of sectarianism to the country's historical trajectory and the necessity of breaking from sectarian alliances, "prior to the emergence of NRM, all the political parties in Uganda were not nationalist; they were sectarian on account of religion and tribes" (Museveni quoted in *New Vision*, 16/1/2012).



Museveni gives an example from scripture of the Good Samaritan having mercy on a wounded stranger, proceeding:

The NRM should ask each Ugandan: ‘Who is your socio-economic friend?’ On whom is my socio-economic prosperity dependent? Is my socio-economic prosperity dependent on members of my tribe, members of my religion or on whom?...our stand of nationalism is not based on mere rhetoric or emotionalism. It is based on the legitimate and core interest of the people...nationalism is superior to sectarianism (Museveni quoted in New Vision, 16/1/2012).

Pentecostal-Charismatic Christianity in many respects is ideal for transcending sectarian divisiveness. While the Catholic and Protestant community are strongly fixed to particular political parties, the relative newness of the PC community consequently holds no such ties, making it not only an ideal faith for national cohesion but for the NRM to appropriate. Additionally, the fluidity of the faith allows adherents to oscillate between being born-again and maintaining long established ties to both the Catholic or Protestant church.

Yet, a unified identity does not exist within the PC community itself and rupture is evident. Internal fractures within the community in Kampala have necessitated a move towards unification. Church reliance on the vision of a single charismatic leader, the lack of universal doctrine, absence of standardised theological training and great diversity of message found within the churches under consideration—let alone the entire movement—have sparked a measure of disunity. Just as the nation needs transforming so too does the Pentecostal church. According to Pastor Ssempe, “the Pentecostal church in Uganda it needs reform, it has dark secrets. The church needs reform and change...as a movement there are two branches...[it] can suffer from a typical lack of systems and documentation of the good things they believe in...this has diminished our ability to effectively minister” (Ssempe Interview, May 2012).

Politically many within the movement—including the founder of the umbrella organisation the Born-Again Faith Federation, Joseph Serwadda—claim:

We are not yet at the state of [political] influence, but we are being heard, we have a voice...we are heard and that was not there a decade ago...the government will not have a conference without inviting us...on the political arena we've just been accepted, the door is opening...the power is in the churches...when the nation decides to have relaxed laws...all the evil in society will creep in (Serwadda Interview, July 2012).

Yet, the consistent belief voiced at all churches under consideration is that once the movement unites it will pose an overwhelming political force, a force for national and continental transformation. All of the churches under consideration seek a divine covenant. By renouncing the sins of the nation and its people, and dedicating Uganda—in all realms—to the Lord, the covenant is struck and the nation can achieve Divine favour and ultimately development and prosperity. In this way Uganda can serve as “a prophet nation in the continent of Africa” and the Lord can “remove the dividing walls between the tongue, tribe and creed. Unite us Father under the never fading banner of Jesus Christ and the Love of God” (Ugandan Declaration, 2012). The political appropriation of PC discourse—as a tool for cohesion—proves an appealing message for political leaders to adopt.

### *The Reborn Political*

A salient demonstration of the influence of PC discourse over the political sphere occurred in 2012 in a public statement issued by President Museveni. Standing before an audience at Namboole stadium just outside of Kampala, President Museveni dedicated his nation to the Lord. Repenting for the sin that has undermined the country he proclaimed, “We want Uganda to be known as a nation that fears God and as a nation whose foundations are firmly rooted in righteousness and justice to fulfil what the Bible says... ‘Blessed is the nation, whose God is the Lord. A people you have chosen as your own’” (New Vision, 18/10/2012).

Museveni’s words are demonstrative of the profound shift in national and public sentiment regarding Uganda’s future, a future rooted in Pentecostal-Charismatic faith. For some Museveni’s public dedication was unexpected. While his wife and children are known for their charismatic ties, Museveni has remained outside of the bounds of the born-again. Once a part of the Anglican *balokole* movement [see

Chapter II] he left the revival when it refused to take a position on the Rhodesian declaration of independence in 1965 (Gifford, 1998:122).

According to Gifford, “as one observer...describes him: ‘He neither drinks nor smokes and he quotes the Bible like a very good Christian to make up for his not going to church’” (Gifford, 1998:122). Further questioning the President’s faith a member of *Miracle Centre* remarked that:

Museveni *claims* to fear God, he says he was born-again in high school but he backslid. In Burundi the president is born-again. If God gives him the grace to rule Burundi it will develop, but that does not mean that it is better than Uganda. We do not first ask the president what we should do, at Miracle Centre we have access to God and change the nation, and many members of Parliament are born-again, they need people who are under them too. It’s a choice, we choose life, we choose born-again. That is why we pray for our leaders, they see the power of God in the president in Burundi. Then the people will catch up [convert] and the country will develop. God can change a nation in one day. We have Godly leaders in Parliament that affect the decisions (Miracle Centre Participant Observation, April 2012).

The words of the member of *Miracle* are telling. On the one hand they reflect the movement’s grassroots and seemingly democratic nature. According to Ranger, the PC community in Africa “are seeking to draw upon the resources of a majority religion in order to democratise the whole political system...[seeking] to moralise politics and society” through a personal transformation that works by applying the personal to the political (Ranger, 2003:114).

That is not to say that PC Christianity aids in the formation of more inclusive democracies. In Uganda PCCs have helped limit democratic inclusion to minorities groups—like the LGBTI community—that do not comply with their moral principles. Elaborating on the contradictions of PC Christianity for democracy, Ranger states “[t]here is a ‘minority’ problem for Evangelical African democrats, but almost everywhere it is not the problem of achieving rights for themselves as a minority. Instead it is the problem of their being prepared to allow rights to non-Christian minorities” (Ranger, 2003:116).

Rather it is the participatory nature and self-reliance that is encouraged in PC belief that contributes to a broader democratising effect on the individual lives of its adherents (Ranger, 2003:116). Unlike mainline forms, PC Christianity is more egalitarian in structure. Believers can commune directly with God without a church intermediary, and the absence of institutional training in theology strengthens the democratic nature of PC Christianity. The egalitarian frame motivates believers to shape the political. If believers can commune directly with God, they can surely address national leaders and politicians.

Museveni's ambiguous association with the PC community exhibits strong political implications and reflects a fluid populist orientation. In 2013 Joseph Serwadda of *Victory Christian Centre* and the Pentecostal-Charismatic umbrella organisation the Born-Again Faith Federation (BAFF), claimed that the born-again community largely re-elected Museveni. In exchange for support at the ballot box, the PC community hoped to achieve national recognition and greater legitimacy for the movement (URN, 2013).

Yet, above all Museveni's public dedication signals the profound theological shift in the Ugandan public sphere that occurred with the proliferation of PCCs. The increased democratisation efforts of the NRM beginning in the 1990s to the relative liberalisation of the media have impacted the Ugandan public sphere, giving voice to political dissent and alternative visions of the nation. On a practical level politicians must appeal to the Pentecostal-Charismatic community, and not just the traditional bifurcate of Catholics and Anglicans, to maintain their political viability. Museveni is not a born-again Christian, yet, he draws on their discursive language. Here the influence of PC Christianity on the broader public is made clear. From a perspective of political pragmatism the demographic is incorporated into political discourse.

This has not always been the case. When Museveni took power the relationship between the church and the state diminished. In the past Museveni kept 'religion' at arm's length "seeing party politics as the bane of Uganda historically, and knowing the denominational element within the parties" religion has served to further divide

the Ugandan public (Gifford, 1998:122). Gifford's account of religion retracting from politics is telling. The quotation was published in 1998 when the Ugandan Pentecostal-Charismatic movement was in its infancy compared to its omnipresence today.

A wealth of research concerning the African context has demonstrated the increased role of PC Christianity in the political sphere. The utilisation of the PC binary that positions 'good' forces at odds with evil simplistically reduces the political arena into a diametric realm, where the choice of voters is about the choice of the direction of the nation, in a way choosing God. According to Meyer, during the 1996 elections in Ghana:

[N]ot only did the electoral commission distribute a poster juxtaposing an image of the devil as a symbol of corruption with that of an angel as a symbol of good citizenship...but those involved in political campaigns and debates also made the responsibility for the future of the nation dependent on individual believers, on their prayers and votes...it is clear that Pentecostals viewed good citizenship and Christian virtues as two sides of the same coin...nationalism without Christianity would do the country no good (Meyer, 2004:97).

In the Ghanaian example nationalism and citizenship became entangled with Pentecostal moral character. Being a good citizen meant being a good Christian. While the Pentecostal church in the Ghanaian context was also initially divorced from the political, Gifford (1998) demonstrates that a binate political theology was established that stressed that progress could only be achieved through the incorporation of God, signalling the importance of a righteous leader. However, in the aforementioned case of Ghana "the Pentecostal view thus offered a perspective on nationalism that clashed with the state view of the nation as rooted in 'tradition' and 'heritage'" (Meyer, 2004:97). While certain elements of tradition prove destructive in the Ugandan example, traditional and local heritage demonstrate an integral component to the formation of national identity in PC discourse.

In many respects Ugandan Pentecostalism exhibits a ‘holy nationalism’ as “though church and state may in principle be separated, the rhetoric and symbolism of religion still persists...the two are not incompatible...nationalism and its inherent notions of democracy feeds on religious attitudes...it is religion that provides the spirit of the nation” (Igwarra, 1995:328). Igwarra continues by exploring the intersections of religion and nationalism in the Nigerian context that reveals parallels to Bellah’s (1967) notion of civil religion. Yet, in contrast to the prosperity of the American post-war era, the climate of social and economic uncertainty allow for national identity—as a secular religion itself—to appropriate the symbols and ideologies of religious practice. In contexts with thriving religiosity national identity and dominant religion can thus fluidly intertwine. Yet, while the nationalist frame of PC discourse uncovers its impact on the local political sphere, what is revealed about broader global contexts and the Ugandan state?

### *The Reborn Global*

Formative work (Anderson, 2004; Casanova, 2001; Robbins, 2003) on PC Christianity locates the movement in processes of globalisation, disseminating from Western hegemony, which work to reinforce the economic order. Offering a historical account Gifford (1993) initially examined the rise of Pentecostal churches in the African context during a time of fragile, collapsing economies and increasing dependence on ‘new’ North American churches. Early PC churches were positioned throughout the sub-continent as a ‘neo-colonial’ imposition and ‘Americanisation’ more than an African appropriation.

Kalu (1998) contends that the relationship between Western and local churches has been reciprocally dependent. Yet, the transnational character of born-again churches cannot be understated, and merges local and global characteristics. PC Christianity transcends national boundaries. PCCs in Uganda maintain a transnational orientation themselves. The global is a constant topic in PC discourse, from the rhetoric of global inclusion espoused at *Watoto* and *Covenant Nations*, the economic and material component fundamental to *Miracle Centre*, to resisting global systems and Western hegemonic influence at *One Love*. Yet, through discussions of the global the

born-again community is encouraged to return to the local. The nation is the site of interest. PCCs demand inclusion and influence in the national, and to define its inhabitants.

As noted by Appadurai (1996) “the capabilities of the nation-state to monopolise the ‘moral resources of community’ and command political loyalty...[have] steadily eroded’ with heightened processes of globalisation (Appadurai quoted in Marshall-Fratani, 1998:279). Anderson (1991) demonstrates that religion long defined communal identity long before the formation of nation-states. A communal or national identity based on religious authority is nothing new.

Yet, Marshall-Fratani (1998) contends that the transnational nature of PC Christianity takes on new importance in the context of globalisation. In this context PCCs offer a contesting voice to state authority, and destabilise the monopoly of the state to define the parameters of citizenship and belonging. The nation is no longer the primary conduit in the construction of ideology and national belonging. For Marshall-Fratani the nation is not even the principal *context* where communal identity is imagined and political loyalty is conveyed (Marshall-Fratani, 1998:278-279).

Nations, and their inhabitants, are not isolated from the outside world. Both are equally a part of external and local forces. In Uganda the nation-state is not the singular determinate or context of identity and community formation. The heightened fluidity of public space to ideological constructions from other discursive forms has created space for Pentecostal-Charismatic subjectification. However, this is not the only form allowed discursive space, identities that are codified as external, like homosexuality, maintain a public presence. In many respects this has resulted in a generalised sense of insecurity among communities struggling to ‘hold on’ to imagined local forms.

As rates of HIV/AIDS erode familial structures and exposure to ‘alternative’ identities that stand at odds with local definitions increase, PC Christianity acts as a

moral compass to guide the undermined state back to a nostalgic local past. The impact of global processes, *i.e.*, LGBTI calls for *global* or *sexual citizenship*, sees a return to the state or nation from PCCs [see Chapter III]. Local Pentecostalism is both made and appropriated into a tool of national agency, resistance, and autonomy from the external world. This results in the formation of a more singular national identity that reflects Pentecostal-Charismatic belief, to restore what never was, and expand financial, social, and economic stability.

The frame of sexual purity reinforces a public moral panic that positions the outside world as a force that is eroding Ugandan morality and thus progress. The frame of divergent sexuality “generate[s] the creation of monstrous enemies—sexual scapegoats. This ‘othering’ dehumanizes and strips individuals and whole communities of sexual and reproductive rights...The pattern in these reactions and counterreactions hinge repeatedly on questions of normative sexual citizenship...[and justify] reactive mechanisms of surveillance, regulation, discipline, and punishment” (Herdt, 2008:3). Yet, questioning the influence of the external world, *i.e.*, Western powers, originates from a rooted anxieties and a tangible history of colonialism, and postcolonial imposition. For Cheney, while conceptions of tradition are invented, the frame of ‘African tradition’ renders heteronormativity axiomatic (Cheney, 2012:81).

At the heart of PC Christianity exists a “quest for absolute sovereignty...[calling for] a reconstitu[tion] of the order of things...challeng[ing] the authority and neutrality of state law” (Comaroff, 2009:20). Consequently, ‘reconstituting the order of things’ (*ibid*) takes on broader implications. The ‘transformation’ occurring on the policy level is a marker of the “moral revolution” taking shape in the public sphere. Pentecostal-Charismatic Christianity further blurs the delineation between ‘secular’ realms, challenging state neutrality and market secularity, as both are appropriated as “instruments of divine purpose” (*ibid*). PCCs offer accumulation and agency. The public sphere and nation are ‘evangelised’, further blurring the boundaries between religion and politics and reconstituting governance. As to be ‘saved’ is to be born-



again, and to be 'safe' is to abide by the principles of sexual purity (Gusman, 2009:72-73).

In PC discourse to "align oneself with the wrong sort of supernatural and material power, and to regulate one's conduct according to the wrong set of precepts opens up the space...[for] the failure of the nation...[necessitating] the political mission of 'healing the land'" (Marshall-Fratani, 1998:305-306). Consequently, the presence of 'deviant' sexuality impedes national progress. Sexuality impurity is a marker of sin and God's favour will never be fully attained in its presence.

At *Watoto*, "the god of the nation develops the character of the people of the nation...there is an ideological war for the soul of the community...to control the world happens through ideology" (Watoto Participant Observation, March 2012). The project of national transformation depends on ideology. The churches' three-fold strategy occurs by first defining the citizenry in the present and creating a collective memory of the past to achieve a prosperous future. In the process the rebirth reveals the changing nature of governance and citizenship, and reinforces the blurred boundaries between religion and politics

## CHAPTER IX

### CONCLUSIONS: CONTINUITY AND TENSIONS OF THE PAST

*“Respect African societies and their values...If you don't agree, just keep quiet. Let us manage our society, then we will see. If we are wrong, we shall find out by ourselves, just the way we don't interfere with yours.”*

*President Yoweri Museveni of Uganda on passing the Anti-Homosexuality Legislation  
(CNN, 25/2/2014)*

In just under three decades the PC movement has experienced prolific growth and redefined the religious landscape of Uganda. While the boundaries between religion and politics have been tremendously fluid since Christians first came into contact with the Buganda kingdom [see Chapter II], in contemporary Uganda PCCs call believers to make the divide between the religious and political even less distinguishable. From the time of early Christian missionaries in the court of Muteesa I, the Anglican and Catholic traditions were inextricable from the politics of the Buganda Kingdom and eventually Uganda. Themes of memory, tradition, and the nation's place in the world were ever-present in Anglican and Catholic discourse [see Chapter II].

The early PC movement was very different from the political nature of its Christian predecessors. Initial PCCs were more concerned with seemingly spiritual matters, and held very little political sway [see Chapter II]. In Uganda in the 1980s and 90s PCCs distanced themselves from the realm of politics and other secular spaces that were viewed as damaging to spirituality [see Chapter II]. Yet, the HIV epidemic changed PCC's apolitical orientation, while proliferating and legitimising the movement as public health actors and policy makers [see Chapter II].

The political involvement of local churches is contingent on the flood of international funds, especially from the United States, that prioritised FBOs [see Chapter II]. HIV not only changed the nature of the PC movement, but also helped redefine the nature of discourse in the public sphere. Early initiatives on HIV encouraged public discourse to openly address sex and transported sexuality out of

the private sphere [see Chapter III]. The ‘sexualisation’ of the public sphere allowed space for the local LGBTI community to claim a public voice as well, since sex was made a matter for public debate [see Chapter III]. In a climate where HIV made sexuality public, the local LGBTI community claimed space.

Utilising a global discourse of human rights, LGBTI actors sought recognition and public presence [see Chapter III]. The AHB aims to contain ‘public sexuality’. Two incompatible frames are at work in Uganda, the ‘local’ frame of sex and citizenship with a conflicting ‘global’ frame [see Chapter III]. Local understandings of sex collide with global constructs of LGBTI identity that incorporates a human rights frame. The use of human rights demands the extension of rights of citizenship. However, local understandings of sex and citizenship often prove incompatible. For the PCCs under consideration, homosexuality is not only un-African, it is not a valid form of ‘sex’. Homosexuality is sin.

Secondly, while PCCs ‘imagine’ a community of Ugandan believers that will transform the country, their definition of citizenship relies on a sense of collective belonging. In contrast, the frame of human rights used in LGBTI discourse calls for rights-based citizenship, as well as belonging. Western perceptions of human rights emphasise individualism through a democratic framework that stands at odds with communal understandings (Mathuray, 2000:7). The AHB reacts to the rights-based approach by legally excluding the extension of rights to the LGBTI community, defining the boundaries of citizenship beyond the collective imagination. The annulled Law is a pre-emptive strike against LGBTI rights.

The discordant frame of sex and citizenship is a result of two incompatible discourses at work, generating sites of tension in the Ugandan public sphere. The moral discourse of PCCs reacts to the ‘global’ discourse of LGBTI human rights, informing the reactionary ‘local’ trajectory of the PC movement. Appropriating the local—by conflating the past and tradition—PCCs validate their presence in Uganda, while delegitimising the LGBTI community. The tension between these two

competing frames is evident in public statements issued by President Museveni after the Legislation's passage.

### *The Implications of Pentecostal-Charismatic Discourse*

On the 24<sup>th</sup> of February 2014 President Museveni signed the AHB into law. In a statement issued during the Bill's ratification, the President reinforced claims levied against the West by members of the local PC community. His main assertion made use of the gay 'recruitment' narrative—detailing how individuals and organisations from the West are training Ugandan children for homosexual lifestyles—"just as [the West] carelessly handle other issues concerning Africa" (President Museveni quoted in Daily Monitor, 24/2/2014).

This was among several reasons the President provided in his decision to sanction the Bill. While his statement engages with issues of sovereignty and homosexuality, what is equally striking is the critique it offers of Western influence that is symbolised in 'public sexuality'.<sup>75</sup> For Museveni, the Ugandan public's increased laxity towards displays of public affection, suggestive clothing, and promiscuity are seen as a direct result of the influence of Western culture. The President further cautioned, "since Western societies do not appreciate politeness, let me take this opportunity to warn our people publicly about the wrong practices indulged in and promoted by some of the outsiders" or foreigners (President Museveni quoted in Daily Monitor, 24/2/2014).

Drawing upon what he described as new scientific research, the President warranted his support of the Legislation.<sup>76</sup> He asked, is the practice of homosexuality "by nature without nurture [biological or cultural]? The answer is: 'No'. No study has shown that... That is why I have agreed to sign" (President Museveni quoted in Daily

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<sup>75</sup> 'Public sexuality' infers both the perceived 'sexualisation' of the public sphere, through behavior—like kissing—provocative dress, and other elements like popular music and entertainment.

<sup>76</sup> The Ministry of Health produced a report, entitled 'Scientific Evidence on Homosexuality', commissioned by the office of the President. The report asks, "is there a scientific/genetic basis for homosexuality?" and "can homosexuality be learned and unlearned?" (Ministry of Health, 2014). Contributors to the report included Dr Jane Aceng, Director of General Health Services of the Ministry of Health. The majority of the panel was comprised of doctors from Mulago Hospital in Kampala (*ibid*). The sources referenced in the report rely on biological studies of homosexuality in twins and studies of sexuality in animals (*ibid*).

Monitor, 24/2/2014). Since homosexuality is framed as a learned behaviour, the same logic suggests it can be unlearned. President Museveni concluded with a statement that:

[R]eject[s] the notion that somebody can be homosexual by choice; that a man can choose to love a fellow man; that sexual orientation is a matter of choice. Since my original thesis that there may be people who are born homosexual has been disproved by science, then the homosexuals have lost the argument in Uganda. They should rehabilitate themselves and society should assist them to do so (President Museveni quoted in Daily Monitor, 24/2/2014).

The President's message that 'homosexuals lost the argument' reverberates in the public sphere. In the days following the Bill's passage the local tabloid the *Red Pepper* led with the headlines, 'No Country For Homos' and 'Exposed! Uganda's 200 Top Homos Named' (Red Pepper, 24/2/2014; Red Pepper, 25/2/2014).

On the 31<sup>st</sup> of March 2014, a celebration was held to mark the Bill's passage, and thirty thousand Ugandans gathered in the national stadium. President Museveni presided, saying that, "there is a fundamental misunderstanding between us and the liberal west...they say homosexuality is sex. But it is not sex" before likening homosexuals to zombies or *ekifire* (Guardian, 2/4/2014). A member of the Inter-Religious Council followed by stating that the West should "respect the sovereign rights of other nations and desist from tying homosexuality to development aid...[thank you Museveni for] reminding President Obama that Uganda is a sovereign country" (*ibid*). The event drew on PC discourse that calls upon the next generation to enable transformation by employing moral and local principles. The Bill's passage was framed as a beginning, moving "from being a beggar to being a nation that gives away to other nations. People will come to Uganda to receive your help" (*ibid*).

While a Ugandan constitutional court nullified the Law its supporters are gearing up to either bring new legislation before Parliament or restore the AHB through a vote in Parliament (Ohlheiser, 5/8/2014). The AHB emphasises the urgent need to understand the impact of Pentecostal-Charismatic discourse on broader

configurations of governance and the exclusionary frame of citizenship. Yet, these trends extend beyond Uganda. In recent years legislation that outlaws or strengthens existing penal codes for homosexuality or ‘sodomy’ have been proposed throughout sub-Saharan Africa [see Chapter III]. The Ugandan context elucidates generalised trends regulating sexuality. The Ugandan state engages with sexuality in a parallel frame to colonial authorities. Together the presence of ‘global’ discourses of LGBTI human rights, and the moral discourse of ‘local’ PCCs have redefined the way the postcolonial state prioritise sexuality and define citizenship.<sup>77</sup>

This chapter offers conclusions on what can be gleaned from Uganda. The Ugandan example illustrates that the language of human rights used by Western donors and the development industry often reinforces local discourses that further restrict and prohibit non-normative sexualities. This thesis suggests that development actors and local LGBTI communities must frame the debate around sexual rights within local understandings of sexuality and citizenship for any relevant dialogue to take place. Instead of relying on the ‘universal’ argument of human rights, discourses against ‘anti-gay’ movements must also engage with local understandings of sexuality, sovereignty, and citizenship.

### ***Summary of Findings***

This thesis examined how Pentecostal-Charismatic discourse, with its intrinsic ideas for future transformation, reveals and informs changes in governance in the Ugandan state and the negotiation of citizenship and works to reinforce the indistinct boundaries between the religious and political. PC discourse resolves to morally transform the individual and the nation. In this light, I have shown that Pentecostal-Charismatic discourse shapes the current nature of the Ugandan state and the negotiation of citizenship. Extended ethnographic fieldwork of four sites—*Miracle*

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<sup>77</sup> Aside from adopting a frame of ‘African sexuality’—*i.e.*, homosexuality is un-African—invented by colonial authorities and missionaries, the use of colonial narratives is particularly evident in Museveni’s appeal to ‘science’. Vaughan (1991) notes that biomedical knowledge—which relies on biological and social science—proved a main tool in colonial techniques of regulating populations, merging morality with the biological and illness. For Vaughan, “colonial medical discourse was, without a doubt, preoccupied by difference” (Vaughan, 1991:12).

*Centre, One Love, Watoto, and Covenant Nations*—revealed two important levels of analysis, the individual and collective.

First, on an individual level, the process of rebirth restores believers and enables an abundant life. Individually, rebirth involves forms of regulation, forms of governmentality. The use of these techniques renders individual subjectivities in line with Pentecostal-Charismatic belief [see Chapter VIII]. On a spiritual level individual morality achieves Divine favour, which creates conditions that are receptive to progress. On a practical level eliminating individual immorality enables churchgoers to lead productive lives in order to be beneficial members of society. ‘Moral’ citizens constitute a stable and productive population and are able to contribute to the project of national transformation.

Second, the narrative of individual conversion is applied to a national scale, along with the forms of regulation. In PC discourse Ugandan progress and economic stability are inextricable from individual moral transformation. Individual transformation enables national transformation. A moral citizenry renders Uganda a productive and robust nation—a model for surrounding countries to emulate [see Chapter VI].

Yet, the onus is on the individual. The central obstacle to transformation is immorality. Immorality is addressed through two techniques: subjectivity formation and more overt measures, such as the AHB. To eliminate immorality church discourse first renders subjectivities in line with the “regime of truth” of PC belief (Foucault, 1977). PC belief is reinforced by state policy and legislation that restricts and disciplines bodies through overt biopolitical measures. A transformed Uganda promises better lives for its citizens, and greater inclusion in the global economy. In PC discourse it is time to ‘eat at the [world’s] table’ (One Love Participant Observation, May 2010), and transform Uganda into a cultural and economic hegemon in its own right.

On the collective level the obstacle of disunity stands in the way of national progress. PC discourse promises to alleviate disunity by offering a new collective identity to draw upon. The push for greater social cohesion is demonstrated in PC imaginings of a national citizenry. What it means to be Ugandan is entangled in PC constructions of the nation and the citizenry. Yet, the alignment of national identity with PC Christianity proves exclusionary. As the individual narrative of transformation is applied nationally, PCCs perform the state's role in defining the citizenry, a citizenry framed not through rights but an imagined sense of collective belonging. Consequently, those living outside of the bounds of PC identity, and subsequently Ugandan identity, are rendered in need of reform or rehabilitation. Deviant bodies are seen to threaten the project of nation building, evidenced in sexuality.

Like all nationalist projects PCCs draw on 'the past' and 'tradition'. This validates PC national identity while delegitimising LGBTI identity. First, the incorporation of tradition helps to historicise a relatively ahistorical and nascent movement. PC Christianity is made local by engaging with tradition. By situating transformation alongside tradition, PC identity is validated in the Ugandan context. This works by ingrainning particular localisms and the past into PC discourse, providing it with history and contextual significance. As an indigenous political movement, engaging with tradition legitimises their calls for national sovereignty.

In the process engaging with sexuality by relying on tradition and the past alters the way PCCs define these categories. Salvation is a rebirth, a break, but sexuality has rendered rebirth less of a clear break. Churches draw on the past and tradition—including the 'modern' *Miracle*—in calls for national transformation. In sexuality parishioners are urged to return to 'good' African values to recreate particular elements of the past in order to generate an abundant national future. The draw on tradition and the past recalls a time and a way of life before colonialism and Western intervention. While Christianity itself has external origins, it is recast as both the authentic past and vehicle of transformation, and remains immune from an external label.



Second, the use of tradition is as a critique of Western influence, represented by homosexuality. In this frame the nation's future rests with the up-and-coming generation. The youth are the vehicle for restoring the nation and progress. Homosexuality—understood as a learned practice where Westerners recruit impressionable Ugandan youth—destabilises not only individual salvation, but also the more comprehensive project of national transformation. Non-normative sexualities are framed outside of tradition. LGBTI sexualities are 'modern' and 'external' and represent 'un-African' practices. The construction of a normative born-again sexual identity thus extends beyond individual morality and is used as a collective identity for national cohesion and progress, while expressing underlying anxieties about sovereignty and state autonomy.

These findings constitute the main analytical contentions and are examined in depth throughout each chapter. My findings reveal how the prevalence of Pentecostal-Charismatic discourse in the public sphere contributes to the changing nature of the state and the negotiation of citizenship, while reaffirming the indistinct boundaries between religion and politics.

While the churches all employ discourses of transformation reliant on sexuality purity as a marker of good citizenship, these churches are not monolithic. *Miracle* shows the variance of PC belief and counters the messages of *One Love*, *Watoto*, and even *Covenant Nations*, which critique the global or external world [see Chapter IV]. *Miracle* is the global. Pastor Kayanja travels around the world and the United States preaching faith healing and the prosperity gospel. The church encourages churchgoers to strive for economic prosperity and Western lifestyles. Vehement objections to the church by fellow PCCs serve as a rejection of the principles *Miracle* has come to represent—modernity, glamour, and appropriation of external identities.

*One Love's* consistent commentary on the global is personified in divergent sexuality [see Chapter V]. Pastor Ssempe began his ministry working in HIV outreach. Eventually incorporating 'anti-gay' activism into his ministry, he advocates for the principles of sexual purity. Purity is freedom from disease and divergent sexual

behaviour—homosexuality, promiscuity, and adultery—which are all deemed moral deviations [see Chapter V]. His highly political and nationalist sermons warn of Western attempts to undermine African morality. Homosexuality is framed in opposition to African tradition. At *One Love* sexuality and nationalism converge, as Pastor Ssempea encourages his congregation to “stop being desperate to go to the United States...[to] raise leaders who won’t sell our nation...[and] redeem us from sodomy” (One Love Participant Observation, March 2012).

While *One Love* speaks to sexual purity and national autonomy, *Watoto* provides pragmatic and future oriented solutions to everyday life [see Chapter VI]. The church offers practical advice on opening bank accounts, saving money, and job interviews. Sermons function as ‘teaching opportunities’ to create a productive and moral citizenry. For Pastor Skinner, the PCC will unify the country by creating a new generation of leaders equipped with fiscal and sexual integrity. While *One Love’s* Ssempea plays a vocal role by publicly advocating against homosexuality, *Watoto* takes an indirect approach. Affiliated with the FBO the Family Life Network, rumours circulate around Kampala about a *Watoto* rehabilitation programme for homosexuality [see Chapter VI].

Founded by first-daughter Patience Rwabwogo, *Covenant Nations Church* is the newest church under consideration. It is extremely influential. With its small, but politically connected congregation [see Chapter VII]. Stressing prophecy and revival, *CNC* synthesises the central tenets of the other three, with the healing and prophecy of *Miracle Centre*, the sexual purity and political alignment of *One Love*, and the fiscal and sexual responsibility of *Watoto*. The church aims to start a revivalist movement reminiscent of *balokole*, by morally transforming the nation through the up-and-coming generation. Transformation at *Covenant* aims to recreate an era of Christianity depicted in scripture, where miracles—far from being atypical—were a part of daily life [see Chapter VII]. The church’s strong political affiliations demonstrates PC belief in action, as churchgoers take their beliefs into work with them to transform the nation.

The churches under consideration have been transformative to public policy and legislation. Yet, what broader conclusions can be drawn from the Ugandan example? The next section considers two main conclusions PCC discourse elucidates.

### ***Contributions & Conclusions***

Many conclusions can be drawn from the Ugandan example that contributes to existing literature on PCCs. For Uganda sexuality has changed the nature of PC discourse, and in turn altered the way the state engages with sexuality and citizenship. For the broader movement, the tensions that arise allow for a new conceptual understanding of the nature of the PC discourse and nation-building projects.

In the thesis I have addressed my theoretical contributions by first considering the local level of transformation, followed by the global. My thesis examined the power of discourse. While the focus concerned PC discourse, it is not divorced from other discursive forms, but exists in a dialectical relationship—colonial, ‘local’, ‘global’. Discourses are reactive and informed by the presence of other discursive forms.<sup>78</sup>

Tensions in the Ugandan state and citizenship are revealed in local meanings of tradition and sexuality. The main tension behind the nation-building project for both PCCs and the postcolonial state is *how* to engage with tradition and the past to reconcile the discordant frames. When describing postcolonial history the past and tradition are inconsistent, but the future and the project of *rebirth* are limitless. PCCs offer unlimited potential for the nation. The future is clear, yet the past is muddled.

While literature on PCCs (Engelke, 2004; Marshall, 2009; Meyer, 1998; Robbins, 2004; van Dijk, 1998) uses a frame of discontinuity and rupture, sexuality has come to redefine the way Ugandan PCCs—and subsequently political rhetoric—engages with the past and tradition. Before *homosexuality* became a prevailing theme of Ugandan PC discourse, tradition and the past served as sites for churchgoers to

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<sup>78</sup> Colonial narratives of the body and sexuality, global LGBTI human rights, and local understandings of PC Christianity and sexuality.

transcend. This remains evident in Ugandan PC discourse around themes that are framed as ‘traditional’ practice, *i.e.*, ancestor worship, polygamy, and tribalism. For the churches under consideration, forgetting “the past...who we were before...the sins of our ancestors...to start anew...reborn” (CNC Participant Observation, December 2011) emerges, and is consistent with the literature (Engelke, 2004; Marshall, 2009; Meyer, 1998; Robbins, 2004; van Dijk, 1998).

While the past and tradition are often conflated, the past signifies a period of turbulence for both Uganda and the PC churches. At *Watoto*, “we turned our back on the Lord when we became an independent nation...we have endured war and hardships, poverty and devastation” (Watoto Participant Observation, January 2012). In contrast modernity is often a positive, and believers aim to both reconcile and align themselves in the global or ‘modern’ world, consistent with studies of PCCs in other contexts (Comaroff & Comaroff, 2000; Dilger, 2007; Maxwell, 1998; Meyer, 1998).

Yet, when engaging with sexuality, tradition and the past are repositioned and take on new meaning. Sexuality realigns the past, it is a time to recreate, while tradition overlaps and represents ‘good moral’ behaviour, exemplified in African sexuality. The necessity of re-remembering the past reflects what Van Wyck Brooks (1918) describes as creating a “useable past”, and Ranger (1983) deems “the invention of tradition”, and is the result of discontinuity and rupture. Creating a “useable past” is necessary when the past and the present are viewed to be chaotic and disjointed. The past is ‘usable’ when it allows for opening “spaces in the present for future innovation” (Blake, 1999:423).

The nationalist rhetoric inscribed in PC discourse to overcome a sense of national impotence and disunity, which divergent sexuality is seen to perpetuate. For Mathuray (2000), as a part of the colonial legacy a frame of authenticity is adopted by nationalist movements and “becomes fundamental in the negotiation of identity in the post-colony. It not only needs to constantly define itself in opposition to the West, but also has to begin to articulate in substantive terms what is particularly

African about the African” (Mathuray, 2000:2). Yet, the way PCCs, and consequently national discourse, express what is ‘African’ borrows wholesale from colonial frames and employs the same tactics of *othering* ‘deviant’ sexualities, in a way discourse does effectively ‘return’ to the past. Attempts at authenticity speak to Fanon’s dialectic, as PC and political discourse wants to “prove...the richness of their thought, the equal value of their intellect” (Fanon, 1967:10).

The near colonial narrative in calls for sovereignty in PC rhetoric, and by extension the state, and adopts entrenched colonial understandings of the body and sexuality. When constructing an idea of ‘African sexuality’ the past and tradition are imbued with positive associations, to reject divergent frames of sexuality. The hypersexualised body must be disciplined and reformed. PCCs have altered the way the postcolonial state engages with sexuality, as the state takes on PC strategies in public policy and legislation. In advocating for greater autonomy, sovereignty, and freedom from the colonial legacy, both church and state discourse reifies colonial discourse.

Yet, PCCs utilise colonial understandings of African sexuality to resist the colonial legacy. ‘Tradition’ becomes what “existed before colonialism, and also that which existed outside colonialism...inside and outside of history...[and] when...African leaders argue that homosexuality is un-African, their claims are not made on behalf of just their nations, but for Africa as ‘the nation’” and its past (Mathuray, 2000:3).

PC discourse is paradoxical. It exhibits an ability to simultaneously endorse tradition and modernity (Mathuray, 2000:2), external imposition—*i.e.*, colonialism globalisation the development industry, and local practice, because it is a project of nation building. For Hoad, the “post-colonial nation must posit itself as the vehicle for economic and cultural progress—as the agent of modernity...[while representing] itself as the custodian of the fixed identities conferred on it by (an imagined pre-colonial past—as the repository of tradition” (Hoad, 1998:33).

Nationalist projects rely on imagining the collective future, yet must also construct a 'past' and 'tradition' that depends on creating what was lost and constructing a collective memory (Hoad, 1998), evidenced in PC discourse. Tradition and the past have always held contradictory meaning for African nationalist projects, as both 'authentic' culture, and manipulated by colonial authorities to further imperial projects (Neocosmos, 2003:3).

This leads to the second tension that is uncovered by PC discourse in Uganda—the relationship between the local and the global and citizenship. Sexuality is implicit in the nationalist project by Ugandan PCCs. Yet, PC discourse that calls into question the incompatibility of homosexuality in African contexts allows for little reflexivity. In this frame homosexuality is not only 'un-African', it is 'un-Godly', it is against His mandate, and if the mandate comes from God it cannot be questioned, it is Divine law.

For PCCs homosexuality threatens the Pentecostal project trusted to the up-and-coming generation. As Uganda has become more dependent on donor aid for the delivery of public services, the AHB is a display of autonomy against how vulnerable the dependency on foreign aid has made the state. PC engagement with sexuality is as much the result of the postcolonial legacy, as the processes of globalisation that bring discourses of 'divergent' sexuality into the public sphere.

While PC discourse impacts the formation of subjectivities and knowledge, LGBTI discourse functions in a similar vein. The competing knowledge structure of LGBTI discourse claimed public space in the Ugandan public sphere after sexuality was rendered a topic for public debate with the HIV epidemic. Uganda is as contingent on the contemporary global context as the postcolonial legacy. The rapidity at which global or more universal discourse, like human rights discourses, circulates contributes to what Appadurai (2002) deems the increased 'redundancy' of the nation-state as the prime ideological force.

The influence of alternative forms of hegemonic authority, like PC discourse, take shape and influence local contexts, contributing to the formation of individual and collective subjectivities. LGBTI discourse has both a global and local presence, and PC discourse works to critique the contextual applicability of LGBTI identity. The rapid circulation of global discourses, like both PC Christianity and human rights discourses, are often framed in terms of ‘denationalising’ local contexts (Sassen, 2007). Yet, what is particular to the Ugandan context is how global Pentecostalism has become distinctly territorialised and channelled inward, to distinguish the national frame and critique the presence of the global discourse of human rights. This demonstrates a new territoriality against the global, a renationalisation, that equips PC discourse with its nationalist trajectory.

Human rights discourses converge in the Ugandan context and inform the way PC Christianity is locally expressed. This has contributed the frame of Ugandan PC Christianity as a nationalist movement that encourages state autonomy and aims to define the parameters of citizenship. Human rights discourse gives universal credence to the global LGBTI movement and the public expression of *queer* identity. This produces dialectics of tension. The simultaneous presence of global discourses—along with the very real historical and structural conditions of the Ugandan context—converge. In return PC Christianity ‘talks back’ in a local language of tradition and nationalism to contest the outside world. To reform the state along PC modes of transformation a moral citizenry is constructed.

Globalisation destabilises national constructions of citizenship and further diminishes state autonomy in the developing world. This has opened up the space for the influence of other ‘private’ actors to contribute to definitions of citizenship and political governance. To refute claims of sexual citizenship by LGBTI actors, PC discourse returns to tradition. This renders global LGBTI identity incompatible with local contexts. Sexual rights are representative of modernity. By relying on tradition, PC discourse rejects the external and the modern, and with it non-normative sexualities, this has changed PC engagement with modernity. Global human rights discourses are seen to undermine national sovereignty. The tension produced by the

mutual presence of these discourses manifests in a form of radical nationalism, framed as the preservation of local tradition. According to Oinas, “if a nation is not granted sovereignty, radical nationalism or fundamentalist essentializing...if offered fuel to grow” (Oinas, 2011:7).

African leaders have long drawn on the ‘un-African’ nature of homosexuality [see Chapter III], and “implicit in their remarks, is the awareness of the vulnerability of the African nation-state, under siege from ever-encroaching neo-colonial forces. In this ideological and material battle, anti-colonial and nationalist discourses signify homosexuality as both the domain of perversion and as belonging to the West” (Mathuray, 2000:2). Conversely homosexuality represents the collision of constructions of global ‘queer’ identity and human rights discourse with ‘local’ constructs of sexuality and citizenship. Yet, sexuality has long demonstrated the limits of citizenship in various contexts (Binnie, 2004:76).

In the postcolonial context “homosexuality...[was] perceived as a threat only when it caused an interrogation of the heterosexual imperative...this meant that homosexual acts were not the problem—homosexual identity, however, was another matter” (Chancy, 2008:56). As an identity queerness demands recognition [see Chapter III], which conflicts with local constructs of sexuality and undermines familial obligations of procreation. Yet, beyond ‘divergent’ sexuality tensions in the definition of citizenship employed come to the surface.

For Uganda the definition of citizenship employed by PCCs is less rights-based and more about a communal sense of belonging, a collective citizenship. In the colonial legacy “the language of the law is reducible neither to a brute weapon of control nor simply to an instrument of resistanc[e]. The inherently contradictory character of the colonial discourse of rights, the multiplicity of its registers and the forms of consciousness to which it gave rise, ensured...viable moral communities, identities, modes of being-in-the world” (Comaroff & Comaroff, 1997:404).



Halisi (1998) describes this as a model of ‘dual’ citizenship, where on the one hand a moral category of citizenship exists alongside a legal categorisation. While “colonial evangelists saw liberal individualism as an emancipation from the enchantment of custom and communalism, from the tyranny of tradition” (Comaroff & Comaroff, 1997:404), in PC discourse liberal individualism degrades the commonality and tradition that ground the moral principles needed for transformation. For the Ugandan LGBTI community, and the global LGBTI movement, citizenship is about an extension of rights and recognition [see Chapter III].

In the postcolonial context citizenship and constructions of national identity often reveals the tensions underlying ideas of liberal democracy. For Jayawardena (1986) postcolonial nationalist struggles rely on the formation of a national identity, while simultaneously marking themselves as ‘modern’ projects. If democracy is represented by discourses of rights and entitlements, nationalism lays claim to a transcendental space that relies on reimagined history, and an inconsistent engagement with tradition and modernity (Mathurary, 2000:13). In postcolonial contexts the private-public divide is less distinct (Chatterjee, 1993:15). As a result, “this disjuncture clarifies both the split that is implicit in nationalist thought...and why appeals to that nation, don’t necessarily respect the public/private split essential for making demands within a rights-based discourse” (Mathurary, 2000:12).

Citizenship projects have been “central both to the idea of the national state, and to the practical techniques of the formation of such states” (Rose & Novas, 2006:439). Citizens are bound together by establishing a collective identity, but at the same time the extension of citizenship is an exclusionary process. Citizenship projects were fundamental to the construction of the nation and techniques of governance (*ibid*).

### *Generating a Useful Dialogue*

The processes that gave rise to the Ugandan AHB highlights the way sexuality exists in the public sphere throughout sub-Saharan Africa. The presence of competing discourses—global LGBTI citizenship and local understandings—creates sites of tension, accentuating underlying anxieties about sovereignty and the post-colonial

legacy. Public sexuality is not only about the private occurrence of ‘immoral’ sexual behaviour. It speaks to issues concerning national recognition and claims for sovereignty in the postcolonial legacy.

When we begin to approach the vehement and draconian reactions against homosexuality in this light, by appreciating the long histories that have generated these conditions, we stand a better chance of creating more useful dialogue. Threats of discontinued aid and claims of human rights in many ways support PC claims, reinforcing the view that sexuality is about sovereignty. As ‘global’ discourses contributed to these specific conditions, dialogue must be contextually relevant. Perhaps a more effective counter-argument would be one that relies on cultural specificity, and is nuanced to the Ugandan context.

The social reality facing practicing homosexuals in Uganda points to the necessity of this research. Pentecostal-Charismatic Churches are redefining the public sphere in Uganda and are influencing the political agenda of the nation. The religious sphere itself has been transformed with the ubiquitous rise of Pentecostal-Charismatic Churches.

Yet, this extends beyond the religious and defines the nation itself. Morally informed discourse is determining political action, rendering public health initiatives and legislation regarding sexual rights, indicators of the influence PC Christianity holds on public opinion. My research considers the implications of discourse on public policy concerning HIV/AIDS and legislation regulating sexuality. Yet, public discourse has profound implications on the private realities of Ugandans, influencing interactions and prevention strategies with HIV/AIDS and sexuality.

My work fills a gap in the current academic research on the role of faith on the political in Africa. This work is significant and extends beyond Uganda. Pentecostal-Charismatic Christianity has spread across all of sub-Saharan Africa and impacts the public sphere (Gifford, 1998). Religion impacts the political and my work contributes to a greater understanding of these processes.

To create useful dialogue between external and local governments, and church and LGBTI communities, it is necessary to draw on the local. Local LGBTI and human rights organisations should engage with indigenous identity and local contexts in claims for citizenship. If not, LGBTI Ugandans will continue to be viewed as un-African and suffer the tremendous dangers that surround publicly identifying as LGBTI. The Ugandan PC community—and, as demonstrated, the political sphere—speaks through scripture. Perhaps engaging with this powerful resource would allow two disparate communities to speak to each other. Until then the LGBTI community will continue to lose “the battle in Uganda” (Museveni quoted in *New Vision*, 24/2/2014).

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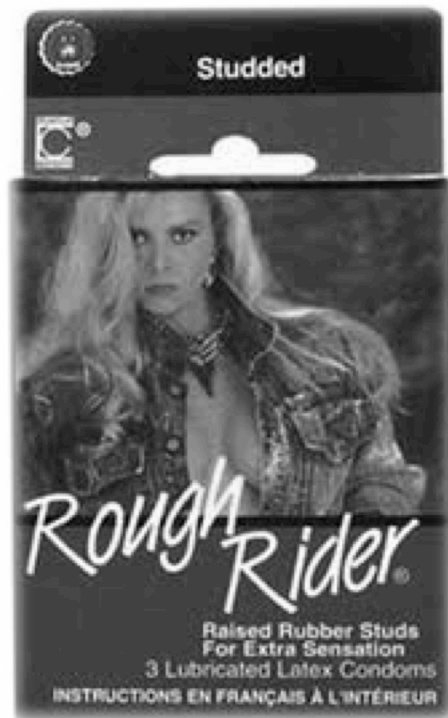
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## APPENDIX A:



[Fieldwork Photos, March 2012]

## APPENDIX B:

2 THE CAMPUS NAIL 18 Nov 2010 - 25 Nov 2010

### NEWS

# HOMOSEXUALS RECRUIT 1000 MAKERERE STUDENTS



Pastor Martin Sempa

By our reporter

As poverty and unemployment levels continue sky rocketing among young graduates, the leading anti social evil (homosexuality) in Uganda is threatening to eat up the entire moral fabric of the youth.

Statistics from the Labour Department show that 390,000 students who finish tertiary education each year have only 8,000 jobs to fight for. For every one job, there are 50 people to compete for it which has left many desperate for any money minting scheme regardless of the consequences.

The Campus Nail has reliably unearthed bitter truth that over 1000 Makerere university students have been recruited into the gay circles of the world. The recruitment that is spearheaded by a one Timothy who stays in Lumumba hall and hails from Rukungiri has been recruiting boys for the last three years.

Timothy is a brown tall young charismatic man who is earning a whopping shs800,000 per month as a salary from HIVOS; an inter-

According to our reliable sources, the gay recruits can earn more depending on the numbers they recruit per month. It is said a head count is done and the bigger the number, the more the money and hence the stronger the gay community.

Most of the boys recruited are from Lumumba and Mitchell but our sources indicate all the other halls of residence like Nkrumah, Nsibirwa, UH and Livingstone have renowned agents who are spreading the vice like a burning bush fire. This has not spared the girls too who are rumored to be having affairs with fellow girls in halls and hostels around Makerere. Over 50 girls joined a gay lesbian club recently.

These unknowing victims of the deadly anti social gay behavior are promised juicy jobs, money, cars, houses and connections to rich gays in Europe and America as a reward for having joined the gay circles.

The recruitment is normally conducted at night in some of Kampala's leading night hang outs like Mateos, Tickle near LDC, Fat

where unsuspecting victims are implored in this evil.

So what?

Our reliable sources have further revealed that the next targets have already been set and plans are already underway to fully start recruitment in MUBS, Kyambogo, UCU, Nkozi and KIU.

However, UCU, KIU, and Nkozi have been singled out as their main target since UCU and Nkozi are religious found and the church leaders have been calling for their hanging. KIU is targeted because it will be an easy prey given the number of hang outs surrounding the Kansanga based campus.

The gays therefore want to avenge the hush treatment they have been getting from these religious

affiliated universities by infiltrating their moral fabrics with the aim of having agents in all professions like law, teaching, and other important professions that can spear head their campaign letter to demand for the legalization of homosexuality in Uganda.

Worse still, these new university recruits are the ones being sent to high schools to recruit and brainwash the young school going kids into having a bi-sexual orientation through social clubs and associations like interact and rotaract clubs.

How dangerous is homosexuality

According to our research, there are many problems associated with homosexual relationships between members of the same sex expose gays, lesbians and bisexuals to extreme risks of Sexually Transmitted Diseases (STDs), physical injuries, mental disorders and even a shortened life span.

There are five major distinctions between gay and heterosexual relationships, with specific medical consequences and these include sky rocketing rates of sexually

such as anal cancer, anal gonorrhea, and syphilis.

There are also anal tears and anal inflammations where bums bulge and expand and this is caused by "fisting" where fingers are inserted in the rectum. This forces the homos to pad their buttocks in pampers and nappies.

The manhood is also exposed to faecal matter which is very dangerous and can cause diseases to the penis and one's testis with an infection referred to as Lymphogranuloma venereum (LGV). It is most closely associated with anal sex and men who have sex with men.

It primarily causes painful swelling of the lymph nodes located closest to the site of infection. If left untreated, it can cause serious tissue damage, scarring, rectal or intestinal blockages, and extreme swelling of the genitals (elephantiasis). In severe cases, it attacks the central nervous system.

Research on Sexual relationships between members of the same sex expose gays, lesbians and bisexuals to extreme risks of Sexually Transmitted Diseases (STDs), physical injuries, mental disorders and even a shortened life span. There are five major distinctions between gay and heterosexual relationships, with specific medical consequences.

A doctor in Colorado USA shows that homosexuality is more dangerous than smoking which is believed to be one of the leading killers in the world. The studies conducted revealed that homosexuality reduces ones' lifespan by 24 years as compared to smoking which reduces ones' lifespan by only 7 years

According to a study conducted by a Catholic Education Resource Center, It is well established that there are high rates of psychiatric illnesses, including depression, drug abuse, and suicide at

and lesbians. This is true even in the Netherlands, where gay, lesbian and bisexual (GLB) relationships are far more socially acceptable than in the U.S. Depression and drug abuse are strongly associated with risky sexual practices that lead to serious medical problems.

Homosexuality is also an illegal act according to the Ugandan laws and if one is apprehended for this social evil, he faces a maximum sentence of 7 years in prison if convicted. However, these laws have not been enforced because of human rights activists who claim to be fighting for the rights of the sexual minorities and pressure from donor countries that threaten to stop aiding government should go ahead and act.

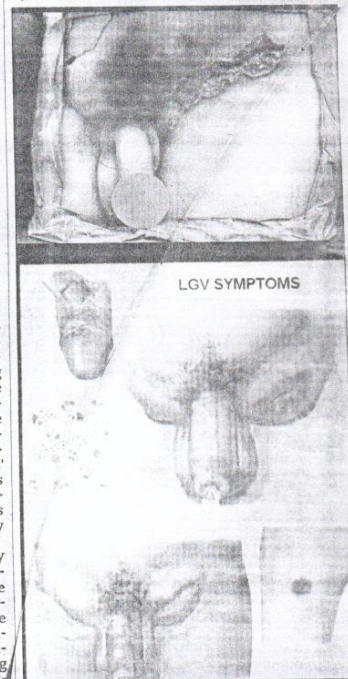
This has rendered the Anti-Homosexuality Bill that was tabled by Honorable Bahati

Nduhuruwa useless as the debate to discuss the Bill has never taken effect at all.

Renowned anti gay pastors like pastor Martin Sempa of Makerere Community church have however vowed to fight the anti social evil that he claims is targeted at killing the human race and corrupting our nation's moral fabric and culture.

"We shall fight on until we rescue our country from the hands of evil. A lot has of money from gay organizations is filtering in to destroy the morals of our kids. The war has just started", vowed pastor Sempa when asked by our paparazzi.

What remains to be seen is if this war will be won by the anti gay activists or the pro gay activists who are deadly bent on destroying the future of this nation



<sup>79</sup> The Campus Nail. 2012. 'Homosexuals Recruit 1000 Makerere Students' 18 November.

## **APPENDIX C: SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEWS**

While informal interviews were conducted on a daily basis with staff and members of the churches, numerous semi-structured interviews were conducted with prominent church leaders, government and health officials. Below is an overview of the most significant semi-structured interviews:

- Pastor Franco. 17 May 2010. Watoto Elder. Watoto Church. Kampala.
- Senior Official. Ministry of Health. Epidemiology and Surveillance Division. 18 May 2010. Kampala.
- Senior Official. Ugandan AIDS Commission. 18 May 2010. Kampala.
- Senior Official. The AIDS Support Organisation (TASO). 19 May 2010.
- Senior Official. The Parliament of Uganda. 18 November 2011. Kampala.
- Senior Official. Pentecostal Assemblies of God. 20 December 2011. Kampala.
- Senior Official. Ministry of Internal Affairs. The National NGO Board. 17 January 2012. Kampala.
- Senior Official. Straight Talk Publications. 7 March 2012. Kampala.
- Senior Official. Icebreakers Uganda. LGBTI Organisation. 25 April 2012. Kampala.
- Pastor Martin Ssempe Interview. 10 May 2012. One Love Offices. Kampala.
- Senior Official. Uganda Cares. 5 June 2012. Health Marketing Network. Kampala.
- Senior Official. Ministry of Health. Epidemiology and Surveillance Division. 14 June. Kampala.
- Senior Official. Ugandan AIDS Commission. 16 June. Kampala.
- Nicholas Abola Interview. 4 July 2012. Ministry of Ethics. Deputy Director of Management, Minister of Ethics. Kampala.
- Dr Joseph Serwadda. 25 July 2012. Director of the Born-Again Faith Federation and Head Pastor of Victory Christian Centre. Kampala.
- Senior Official. The Family Life Network. NGO. July 27 2012. Kampala.